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Journal of Indian History
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EDITOR

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The Raushania Movement and the Mughuls

BY

DHARMA BHANU, B.A. (HONS.), M.A.
Agra College, Agra

INTRODUCTION

During the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan the Afghans and the Pathans living in the region between Kabul and the Indus, specially around the Khaibar Pass, showed considerable religio-socio-political activity and rebelled many a time against the authority and government of Delhi. These Afghans and Pathans gathered around their religious leaders in large numbers and took up arms and defied the Mughuls in a fit of quasi-national enthusiasm. The Raushanias, as these people were called, became a source of danger and constant worry for Akbar, Jahangir and even to Shah Jahan and the imperial generals and viceroys of the North.

BAYAZID ANSARI

The Birth of the Movement

The Raushania movement started as a socio-religious movement under the leadership of Miyan Bayazid Ansari who was born at Jalandar (Panjab) in 1525,[1] a year before the final invasion of Babar. Miyan Bayazid's father, Shaikh Abdullah, like the father of the great Sur leader, Sher Shah, had neglected his son,[2] divorced his wife and married another younger woman. Thus Bayazid's childhood was not happy. He never went to school and his education, if at all, was meagre. It was probably due to this reason that he became a sceptic and inquisitive to know about the true faith and Truth. He developed this tendency as he had to make his way to life. As a young man he is claimed to have said: "I can see alright the earth and the sky, but where is the God you talk of?"[3] Bayazid seems to have been a precocious

1. Dabistan-i-Mazhab, p. 247.
2. Dabistan, Ibid.
3. Dabistan, Ibid.

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youth, for as early as at the age of eighteen he had become so popular that he had gathered around him some disciples and followers.[4] Though their number was small, it shows a bit of his popularity and affability.

These Pathan followers of Bayazid acknowledged him as their social, religious and political leader and submitted to his authority unreservedly. Their leader called himself *Pir-i-Raushan,* the Enlightened Pir. The Akhund Darweza — another Afghan pir and rival — dubbed him in derision as *Pir-i-Tarik,* the Darkened Pir.[5] The Mughuls adopted this phrase of the Akhund and began calling Bayazid *Tariki* and his followers *Tarikis.*

Bayazid Ansari expounded his ideas and recorded his teachings in the three books[6] that he wrote in Arabic :

1. Maqsud-ul-Muminin,
2. Khair-ul-Bayan, and
3. Hal Namah.

The *Khair-ul-Bayan* has been translated into Persian, Urdu and Pushto. It is an epitome of the teachings and ideas of the founder of the Raushania movement, and, therefore, is the most valuable book for and about this movement.

Causes of Popularity

The Raushania movement was more pro-Shia than pro-Sunni, and this was the cause of its popularity among the Afghans. Bayazid attracted the masses by a set of principles benefitting the followers, such as freedom from observing the Shariat, obedience to the authority of the Pir only and none else, lawfulness in seizing the property of all non-Raushanias and, lastly, the promise of "the dominion of the whole world."[7] This was enough. The early followers of the movement were the tribesmen of the Khalil and the Mahmudzai tribes.

4. Dabistan, p. 251.

5. Raverty : Notes on Afghanistan, p. 46.

6. Dabistan, p. 251 ; Nizam-ud-din Ahmad : Tabqat-i-Akbari, Volume II, p. 398 ; Abdul Qadir Badauni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Volume II, p. 349.

7. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad in Elliott and Dowson, Vol. V ; and Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Volume II, p. 349.

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Wrong Notion of Mughul Historians

The Mughul historians have wrongly called the Raushanias as 'heretics'. The Raushanias remained true Muslims all through the movement, though they held some unorthodox opinions. Both Abdul Qadir Badauni[8] and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad[9] have written that Bayazid "spread the religion of the heretics"; but, unfortunately, none of them has given the reasons for holding such views. Nor has any of the two said that Bayazid was a non-Muslim. We know it for definite that Bayazid never gave up the Muslim prayer, the *namaz*, nor did he abandon the basic principles of Islam. In fact, he remained a true Muslim throughout his life and observed most of the formalities necessary for a Muslim. He only wanted to purge Islam of its orthodoxy and to make it more acceptable to greater numbers. And because he wanted to purge Islam of its orthodoxy, we will have to admit that he was far more enlightened than the other ulema or religious leaders of his day. He was of opinion that because God was omnipresent and omnipotent, where is the necessity for us to face to the West (Kaba) while praying to Him. This one example alone will suffice it to show that Bayazid Ansari was a sceptic and wanted to base his teachings on reason. He was, indeed, far ahead of his times and that was the chief reason for the fact that his ideas could not find greater publicity and attract followers. As regards the action of his followers, we will have to admit that it was necessary for him to offer them some attraction, some inducement and also some latitude for their wrong actions. Every new movement has to overlook the uncalled-for actions of its followers, and Bayazid had to overlook their actions as a matter of course.

Bayazid's Teachings

In the early years of the movement Bayazid scored phenomenal success and became very popular among his followers. He was very loyally supported by his followers in his claims of styling himself as the King of Afghanistan and in his dream of conquering India and defeating Akbar.[10] He prescribed the following stages for attaining salvation:

8. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Volume II, p. 349.

9. Tabqat-i-Akbari Vol. II, p. 398.

10. H. Beveridge: "Bayazid Ansari, Pir Raushan" in The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Volume I, p. 686.

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1. Shariat — Following the Law.
2. Tariqat — Following the mystic path.
3. Haqiqat — Remembering God.
4. Marifat — Perceiving God everywhere and in every thing.
5. Qurbat — Knowing and understanding God.
6. Waslat — Renunciation of worldly things.
7. Tawhid — Uniting oneself with God.
8. Sakunat — Acquiring the power of radiating the virtues of God.

This was the highest stage of perfection that any human being could reach. It was equal to *nirwan* and the attainment of Godhood.

Mr. Amir Ali has given the following summary of the chief traits of the Raushania movement, of course in his own light:

"He (Bayazid) taught that God is all-pervading, and that all existing objects are only forms of the Deity; that the Pirs or religious teachers were the great manifestations of the Divinity; that the sole test of right and wrong was to follow the path pointed out by the Pir who is the representative of the Divinity; that the ordinances of the law have, therefore, a mystical meaning and are ordained only as the means of acquiring religious perfection; and that the mystic sense of the law is only attainable by religious exercises and the instructions of a Pir; it is the source of religious perfection, and this perfection being attained, the exterior ordinances of the law cease to be binding, and are virtually annuled."[11]

Jalala Ansari

The Movement at its Climax

Bayazid died in 1581 at the age of 56. He had reached the climax of his popularity and power by that time. He was succeeded by his son, Jalal-ud-din Ansari, commonly known to history as Jalala. Jalal-ud-din was a man of energy, tact and resourcefulness. At the time of his succession he was a young boy of only fourteen summers; but even at that age he was diplomatic enough to understand that as emperor Akbar was present at that time in those north-western regions, where he had gone in order to suppress the rebellion of his brother, Mirza Hakim, it was proper and advisable for him to wait upon the emperor while the latter was returning from Kabul.

11. Sayyid Amir Ali: The Spirit of Islam, page 344.

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His Anti-Mughul Activities

It should be remembered that the Raushania movement had started as a socio-religious movement. And so long as the movement confined itself to social and religious activity and to preaching its "tariki" philosophy, the Mughul emperor Akbar did not interfere with it in the least. Far from it, Akbar "kindly received"[12] Jalal-ud-din Ansari, the son and successor of Bayazid, in 1581, and, most possibly, discussed theology with him. It was only after the Raushanias abandoned purely religious and social activities and began interfering with the functions of the Mughul government,[13] the maintenance of peace and order and "shut up the roads between Hindustan and Kabul" that Akbar was compelled by the force of circumstances to set out to "repress this base sect."[14] Thus we see that the relations between emperor Akbar and the Raushanias became strained only when the latter became obstinate and tried to flout his authority. The Raushanias began plundering the countryside and the caravans laden with merchandise while they crossed the Khaibar Pass, harassed the people, created confusion all around and did not allow the government to function properly. Akbar was rather weak at the time of Bayazid; but he could not tolerate the plundering raids of the Raushanias during the leadership of Jalal-ud-din. Now his hold over India was secure and Mirza Hakim was no longer alive to attract his attention. Therefore, he decided to crush this movement. By adding politics and brigandage to theological principles and social reform and plundering the countryside the Raushanias brought about their own ruin.

The policy of Jalal-ud-din was to harass the Mughuls and to block their way between Kabul and the Indus. It was under his leadership that the movement reached its climax, both in power and popularity. Large numbers of Pathans and Afghans joined the Raushania movement, and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad has contemptuously said that they were "as numerous as ants."[15] The opposition of the Mughul government also increased in proportion to the increase in the Raushania numbers. It is evident from the events following 1582 that the power and popularity of the Raushania movement were increasing steadily. Very soon these people

12. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad has given this information to us and he is very clear on the point. Elliot's translation uses the words "kindly received."
13. Tabqat-i-Akbari (Elliot's translation).
14. Tabqat-i-Akbari, Ibid.
15. Elliot and Dowson: History of India, Volume V, p. 451.

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became a menace to the peace and order in the north-western region, and threw a challenge to the government of Akbar. They blocked the passage of Mirza Shah Rukh when he was on his way to the court of Akbar in 1584 to seek asylum there. His life was endangered by the Afghans and it was with great difficulty that he could escape to Daka and Badakhshan. He could be saved and brought over to India only when Akbar's help went to him.[16] Again, when Mirza Hakim's sons were *en route* to Akbar's court, in 1585, after their father's death, the Khaibar Pass was blocked by the Raushanias. The party reached India only after the Khaibar Pass was opened by force with the aid of the Mughul arms.[17]

A Menace to Peace

By the year 1586 the Raushanias had become a constant menace to the Mughul government and the peace and order in the frontier regions. They had closed both the roads between Kabul and the Indus and besieged Peshawar as well.[18] The result of this event was that the Mughuls were completely cut off from Central Asia, a situation more dangerous than the one when Kamran Mirza was in possession of those regions. The Mughul hold on these parts became precarious and it was feared that all these parts will be lost. It was in the face of this danger and such dark prospects that Akbar appointed Raja Man Singh governor of Kabul and entrusted him with the task of crushing the Raushanias. Shortly after him, Zain Khan Koka, Sayyid Khan Gakkhar, Hakim Abdul Fatah and Raja Bir Bal were sent to co-operate with Raja Man Singh in suppressing Jalal-ud-din Ansari.[19] The combined action of all these generals compelled the Raushanias to raise the siege of Peshawar and retire to the hills. Raja Man Singh was specially expected to civilise the people of that hilly tract by meeting out justice to them. "An order was given to him (Man Singh) that when he came near the Khaibar he should halt for some days and chastise the Tarikis, and make the road safe, so that pedestrians might feel at ease."[20]

Abul Fazl, the court chronicler of Akbar, informs us that when the ambassador of Abdullah Khan Uzbeg of Turan reached Kabul,

16. Abul Fazl: Akbar Nama, Volume III, Beveridge Edition, p. 670-1.
17. Akbar Nama, Vol. III, pp. 712-3.
18. The Cambridge History of India, Volume IV, p. 136.
19. Elliot and Dowson: History of India, Volume V, p. 451.
20. Akbar Nama, III, p. 717; Muntakhab, II, p. 349; Tabqat, II, p. 398.

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he had to be escorted by Shaikh Farid.[21] These records clearly show that the Raushanias had become very powerful and that they were always creating troubles in the north-western frontier. The Mughul forces suffered heavy casualties in their efforts at checking these desperadoes, and many generals lost their lives on the barren hillocks around the Passes. Raja Bir Bal lost his life in the Karagar Pass, east-south-east of the Chak-darra, where his party, some 8,000 strong, was cut down to a man in a narrow defile. Almost at the same time Zain Khan Koka and Hakim Abdul Fatah were badly defeated by the Raushanias and reached Attock with difficulty. "The death....of Raja Bir Bal, his spiritual companion, grieved (Akbar) exceedingly, and his heart turned away from everything"[22] and he did not relish food and drink for a few days. Now Akbar realised the gravity of the situation and decided to be nearer the scene of disturbance. He reached Lahore on 27th May, 1586,[23] and sent reinforcements to the frontier. Thus throughout 1586-1587 there were a series of skirmishes and military actions against the Raushanias.

Akbar Takes Action

On his arrival at Lahore Akbar sent Zain Khan Koka "to punish the tarikis."[24] But the Mughuls under Sayyid Hamid Bukhari suffered a heavy defeat and he himself was killed fighting near Bikram. Bukhari's death emboldened the Raushanias and now they indulged in wanton hopes. They began dreaming of a successful future and ruling over Afghanistan and India, and really believed that Akbar's empire had lived its days. Fortunately or unfortunately, this defeat of the Mughuls was a turning point in the Afghan-Mughul contest for power in the frontier regions. Raja Man Singh, who was convalescing from an illness at Pesh Bulaq, marched from there on about December 13, 1586, and won a great victory against the Raushanias, and achieved unexpected success.[25] This victory of Raja Man Singh turned the tables. During the years 1586-1587 over 25,000 Afghans took part in their unsuccessful fight against the Mughuls — 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse. In this battle against Raja Man Singh around the Khaibar Pass, "nearly 2,000 Raushanias were killed."[26] After this victory

21. Akbar Nama, III, 721.
22. Akbar Nama, III, 732.
23. Akbar Nama, III, p. 748.
24. Akbar Nama, III, pp. 777-8.
25. Akbar Nama, III, pp. 782-3 ; Elliot, V, 452.
26. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Volume II, p. 355.

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Raja Man Singh was relieved of the governorship of Kabul and the post of governor was once again given to Zain Khan Koka. The Raja was entrusted with the work of crushing the Raushanias, as he had shown uncommon ability in crushing Jalal Ansari.[27]

In 1587 an army was sent to the Bangash region under the command of Abdul Muttalib Khan. One day Jalal plundered the imperialist van under Beg Nuri Khan and Salim Khan, and took away considerable property. But soon after, with the assistance of Muhammad Quli Khan, Muttalib Khan defeated the Afghans and routed them. At the battle of Dar Samand alone 550 of the enemy's soldiers fell in the field and about 1,000 were killed during their flight.[28] Jalal-ud-din escaped[29] to the mountainous region of Terah, after great difficulty and danger to his life, through the pass of which Ismail Quli was in-charge. By 1588 Raja Man Singh had made a hell of the life of Jalal Ansari. "Every day he went about with his *qabila* (followers) and fell into a hundred troubles."[30] At last he was compelled to run away to Abdullah Khan Uzbeg of Badakhshan (Turan) *via* Kanigram, and seek shelter at his court. In the early part of October the same year (1588) the Afghans delivered up his family to the Mughuls.[31] The Raushania Movement was, under these circumstances, considered to have been crushed and it seemed that the Mughuls had succeeded in bringing peace and order to the north-western frontier. Akbar recalled his victorious army to the plains below and rewarded his generals for their valour and achievements.

Abdullah Khan of Turan, however, was more diplomatic and worldly-minded than Jalal Ansari had expected him to be. He wanted to maintain peaceful relations with Akbar. Finding no support, therefore, in Badakhshan, Jalal thought it proper to return and continue his fight against the Mughuls single-handed. He returned to his hilly homeland in 1592 and again engaged in revolt.

Muhammad Qasim Khan was the governor of Kabul at this time. Akbar sent Asaf Khan to help Qasim Khan in suppressing Jalal. Later on, Zain Khan Koka was sent to help them both.

27. Akbar Nama, Volume III, p. 790.
28. Akbar Nama, III, 795.
29. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, p. 357 ; Akbar Nama, III, 802.
30. Akbar Nama, Volume III, p. 810.
31. Akbar Nama, III, Ibid.

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The three generals compelled Jalal to flee for his life. This time he left Tirah and went to the Kafir territory (Kafiristan).[32]

Wahdat Ali

During the absence of Jalal-ud-din Ansari the work of resistance against the Mughuls was taken up by one of his relations, Wahdat Ali by name. He captured the fortress of Kanshal and occupied the territory around the fort. But after some time Zain Khan and Asaf Khan defeated him and captured the fortress. Not only did Wahdat Ali lose 7,400 soldiers (400 killed and 7,000 made prisoners), he had also to surrender himself.[33] However, Jalal was continuously troubling the Mughuls. On the death of Qasim Khan, the governor of Kabul, in 1596, the Raushanias tried to take their chance and rebelled. But they were suppressed by the new governor, Qulich Khan.[34] The governor succeeded in capturing Tirah, the Raushania hill-stronghold, in 1598, and so Jalal had to retire to Koh Safed.[35] The frontier region felt repose once again, and, as Abul Fazl tells us, "the roads became safe."

The End of Jalala

The Raushanias again threw a challenge to the Mughuls in 1599 when they captured Ghazni; but they were driven out very soon. This was the last contest of the Raushanias in which Jalal-ud-din Ansari took part. On the loss of Ghazni he fled to the hills of Rabat, where he was killed by Murad Ali and some other servants of Shariff Khan towards the end of 1600 A.D.[36]

Ahdad Ansari

Jalal-ud-din's leadership of the Raushanias lasted from 1581 to 1600. After his murder Ahdad became the Pir of the movement. Though the Raushanias continued to give trouble to

32. Akbar Nama, III, p. 983.

33. Akbar Nama, Volume III, p. 984. Abdul Qadir Badauni, however, says that about 14,000 Raushanias were taken prisoners (Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II, pp. 387-8). His figures are just the double of Abul Fazl. We are inclined to accept the figures given by the court historian of Akbar, for he can in no way be charged of being pro-Raushania and must have been in possession of facts. Badauni is not corroborated by any other historian.

34. Akbar Nama, Volume III, p. 1051.

35. Akbar Nama, III, p. 1104.

36. Akbar Nama, III, p. 1160.

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Jahangir throughout his reign, it seems that their strength and numbers had declined considerably. During his reign we have a mention of them only as late as 1611 when they attacked Kabul. This raid, too, seems to be more of a plundering raid than a political move. The governor of Kabul, Khan Dauran, was away in the district of Ningnahar.[37] The Raushanias tried to take advantage of his absence and attacked the town. But their ambitions were not fulfilled, as they were beaten back by the commandant of the town, Muizz-ul-mulk, with the assistance of the citizens of Kabul who collected a big militia and "barricaded the streets and fortified their houses."[38] Arrows were showered upon the Afghan raiders from the tops of the houses and about 800 Raushanias fell victim, including a prominent lieutenant of Ahdad, named Bargi. Khan Dauran was degraded from his post of the governor on the charge of negligence of duty and was sent to Peshawar to watch and report about the movements and action of the Raushanias. Qulij Khan was appointed new governor of Kabul.[39]

Ahdad Ansari got his chance of attacking the Mughuls when, in 1613, Qulij Khan died at Peshawar as a result of over-work and age (He was 80 then). Ahdad swooped down upon Kot Terah, about sixteen miles from Jalalabad, with his 4,000 to 5,000 followers[40] and plundered many villages. It was with some difficulty that Khan Dauran and Motaqid Khan routed him with a loss of 1,500 men and leaving behind 500 horses along with many a cattle and lots of baggage. After their success the Mughuls raised a pyramid of the skulls of the Afghans after the tradition of Taimur, the Mongol.[41] Ahdad, however, escaped and again rose in revolt after he had collected a force. This time he was pursued and driven into the fortress of Charakh, which was besieged by Khan Dauran. At last the secret passes to the fortress were discovered and the Mughuls attacked it. The fortress was compelled to surrender.[42] About 300 Afghans died fighting while about 100 were taken prisoners. Once again Ahdad escaped and fled towards Kandahar where he was reduced to poverty, misery and penury. His power was practically gone and he had but few followers.

37. Mutamid Khan: Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri, p. 53.
38. Jahangir: Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Beveridge Edition, Volume I, pp. 197-8; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, II, p. 360.
39. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, pp. 198-9.
40. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, p. 263.
41. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Volume I, Ibid.
42. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Volume II, pp. 311-2.

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The Movement Declines

The losses of the Raushanias recorded in these later contests against the Mughuls go on decreasing continuously: this fall was due to the decreasing number of the followers of the Pirs, the leaders of the movement. The number of the Raushanias was falling, and so also were their losses. None joins a losing cause; as the fate of the movement was in the melting pot those days, very few new members could be enrolled by Ahdad: — on the other hand, some of the older members were deserting the movement and either going over to the Mughuls or becoming neutral and settling down to peaceful life. The Raushania movement was slowly petering out, its fortunes were declining. The decline had set in since 1586.

Abdul Qadir

Ahdad was killed by a canon ball in an encounter against the Mughuls, in 1625-26, fighting Zafar Khan.[43] After him Abdul Qadir assumed the leadership of the movement. He seems to be an active and ambitious young man. He renewed the activities of the movement with fresh vigour and enthusiasm. But he had come too late. Very little was left of the vigorous and powerful Raushania movement of the days of Jalala Ansari. Abdul Qadir could not infuse new life in old bones: his was a losing cause and a declining movement. In 1626-27 he made bold to attack a Mughul army passing through the Khaibar Pass, cut it to pieces and took away much plunder. In 1629 he, along with Kamal-ud-din, attacked Peshawar; but they were beaten off with considerable losses.[44]

At last Abdul Qadir realised the futility of offering resistance to the Mughul emperor Shah Jahan, and gave up the leadership of the Raushania movement. He submitted to the emperor and, four years later, joined the Mughul service. Shah Jahan made him a mansabdar of 1,600 to begin with.

By the middle of the sixteen-thirtees the Raushania movement had been reduced to insignificance. Its former power and resistance were gone, its membership had practically disappeared and one of its former leaders had chosen to serve under its enemy. With the desertion of Abdul Qadir the movement died out slowly

43. Shahnawaz Khan: Maasir-ul-Umara, Volume II, pp. 246-7.
44. Abdul Hamid Lahauri: Padshah Nama, Volume I, pp. 311-3.

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and after that date we hear only of some disconnected and ill-planned risings of the dissatisfied Afghans.[45]

KARIMDAD

Abdul Qadir's successor to the leadership of the Raushanias was Karimdad. Karimdad led the last Raushania-cum-Bangash revolt in 1638. The Mughuls, however, put the rebels with a severe hand and Karimdad was killed in action.

The End of the Movement

The death of Karimdad put an end to the political aspirations of the Raushanias. They were reduced to a mere religious sect with no political ambitions and no military activity. The suppression of the revolt of 1638 proved to be the death-knell of the Raushania movement. For many years in future the Afghans and the Pathans of the north-western frontier region did not dream of freedom and of establishing an independent state for themselves. Even to-day we have some solitary Raushania preachers in those regions. Late Dr. D. S. Margoliouth was of opinion in 1936 that some relics of this community still exist in the Bangash region, reminding us of their glorious past. But now their activities are confined to religious and social work only: the Mughuls, it seems, permanently damped their political ambitions.

Causes of Failure

The Raushania movement failed in achieving its object for a number of reasons. Though a hardy people, dauntless warriors and good fighters, the Raushania Afghans and Pathans did not succeed in their contest for power and supremacy against the Mughuls primarily because they were not united at home. The movement could not unite all the Afghans against its enemy, the Mughuls. There were other parties and bodies among the Afghans besides the Raushanias. The greatest number of the active Raushania followers recorded is only 25,000 as against the innumerable army that the Mughul emperors could recruit. Thus the numerical factor was one of the greatest cause of the failure of the Raushanias. Moreover, towards the later days of the movement, the Afghans had become disobedient towards their leaders and had begun to care more for pelf and power and personal gains instead of the

45. Padshah Nama, Volume II, p. 222.

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national and common interests. The clamour for power among them had reached such a degree that during the leadership of Ahdad one of his cousins, Allahdad, had deserted the Raushania movement and joined Mughul service. Jahangir sent him against his own kith and kin which Allahdad does not seem to have liked. The Afghans themselves were amazed to see him fighting on the side of their enemy shoulder to shoulder with Mahabat Khan. Ashamed of his conduct, Allahdad could not fight as bravely as was expected of him with the result that "the attack did not succeed."[46] Taken by remorse, he broke into revolt and tried to flee, but was caught and sent to Agra, Jahangir pardoned him on the intercession of Itimad-ud-daulah.[47] Later on, in the reign of Shah Jahan, he served under Prince Shuja in the Dakshin campaign.[48] Even Abdul Qadir abandoned the Raushania cause.

The fact that the Akhund Darweza, who was a rival pir, was an influential leader was greatly responsible for the small number of Bayazid's followers. Bayazid's unorthodox preachings, too, might have been responsible for it to some extent.

The Raushania movement lacked organization; the weapons of the Afghans and the Pathans were out-moded and primitive in comparison to those of the Mughuls; financially weak, the movement could not maintain effective warfare for long; and, lastly, food was always the problem number one in the hilly tracts of Afghanistan. Under these circumstances they could not afford a prolonged warfare against the Mughuls whose resources were unlimited.

Conclusion

The Raushania movement was not one but a number of movements of the Afghans and the Pathans. They grew up under different leaderships and among different sets of people and in different times. Their aims, also, differed from one another. The movement had two wide divisions: one was political and nationalist, and the other was merely opportunist and plundering organization. Some of the Pathans, however, were motivated by both nationalism and expectation of plunder. The founder of the movement, Miyan Bayazid, must have been a very clever, intelligent

46. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Volume II, p. 85.
47. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Volume II, p. 120; 153.
48. Maasir-ul-Umara, Volume II, p. 248; Dabistan-i-Mazhab, p. 390; and Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Volume II, pp. 215-6.

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and thoughtful person, for he offered to his followers the three of the most powerful allurements and promised them :

1. Riches from plunder,
2. National liberation, and
3. Religious salvation.

So long as these three allurements attracted the Afghans, they flocked to him in great numbers. His son, Jalala, tried to give them the first two of these. The movement could be crushed only after the Mughuls decided to resort to the principle of Divide and Rule and admitted the Raushania deserters on a footing of equality with the other members of the Mughul imperial service. Monetary gain, national liberation and religious salvation were the three ties that had kept the Raushanias united, and the moment that tie was broken, the movement fell with a mighty crash.

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Anglo-Russian Commercial Rivalry in 1812 A.D.*

BY

R. N. CHOWDHURI

Department of History, Maharaja's College, Jaipur, (Rajasthan)

In the context of our newly won independence India's relations with her Asiatic neighbours have assumed a new significance. From time immemorial her commercial transactions with other Asiatic countries have been occupying a very important place in her economic system. A comprehensive account of our trade with our neighbours, particularly in the early part of the nineteenth century, would be immensely interesting to the students of Indo-British history. Fortunately, documentary evidence of unimpeachable value may be found in abundance in the National Archives of India.

An interesting glimpse of the Anglo-Russian Commercial antagonism on the north-west of British India during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Minto (1807-1813) can be obtained from an important minute of about thirty manuscript pages penned by the veteran Himalayan explorer, Mr. William Moorcroft, (Dated 7th Sept., 1812) from *Nitti*,[1] a Himalayan town north of Joshimath. A careful perusal of this report, available in the "National Archives," enabled me to glean some facts of general interest dealing particularly with the nature and extent of the lively Russian trade in that region.[2]

In 1808, Mr. Moorcroft, a veterinary surgeon of Lancashire, was appointed by the Directors as Superintendent of the Honourable East India Company's stud. Three years after, he visited the Chinese Tartary (Tibet) and carefully studied the flora and fauna of this unexplored region. It is indeed one of the impenetrable mysteries of Indian history to ascertain who was the first Englishman to set foot in Tibet. It is well known that the bold and

* Paper accepted for the thirteenth Session of the Indian History Congress held on 27th December, 1950, at Nagpur.

1. *Nitti*: is a small town above 14,924 ft. sea-level which separates Bhutan from Tibet, Hamilton, East India Gazetteer; (1828); Vol. II, pp. 322-23.

2. Foreign Miscellaneous, No. 125, pp. 29-59.

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adventurous General Bogle, "a gentleman of distinguished ability and remarkable equanimity of temper," was the first European who visited Bhutan on behalf of the E. I. Co. and signed a treaty of Commerce in 1775.[3] Curiously enough, exactly a decade after, (1785) Capt. Samuel Turner, who led the second mission to Bhutan, proudly claimed that "most certainly Mr. Saunders and myself enjoyed the distinction of having been *the first* of our nation that ever signalised themselves by skating in Tibet."[4] Shortly after (1788) George Forster, a civilian of the East India Company, undertook a journey from Bengal to England through the northern parts of India, Kashmir, Afghanisthan and Persia into Russia by the Caspian Sea.[5] According to H. H. Wilson, Mr. William Moorcroft was "the first European to cross the Himalayas and reach the Chinese Tartary.[6]

The ostensible purpose of Mr. Moorcroft's penetration into Turkistan was to study the country for the superior breed of the horses which it was his "great ambition to domesticate in India" though his real motive was to collect valuable historical, geographical and statistical data to secure a permanent commercial intercourse with the Trans-Himalayan districts for the benefit of the Company. It should, however, be borne in mind that besides the natural difficulties of the way, he had to elude the strict vigilance of the turbulent and hostile Nepalese,[7] the master of the Himalayas, who were then encroaching upon the British territories. His first attempt to achieve this object was made in 1812 when he was extremely surprised to find that the Russians had already anticipated the British in these regions.

Starting from Bareilly (March, 1812), this adventurous English itinerant entered a portion of the Chinese Tartary (Tibet)[8]

3. Turner: An Account of the Embassy to the court of Teshoo-Lama in Tibet, (1800) p. 376. Dr. Rennie: Story of the Bhutan War (1865) p. 383. App. A.

4. Ibid. p. 332.

5. George Forster: A Journey from Bengal to England: Vols. I and II. (Lond. 1798).

6. Moorcroft: Travels in Himalayas (1837). Introd. p. XVII.

7. In 1812 the Nepalese occupied Sheoraj and Butwal. For interesting details vide Hamilton's Account of Nepal (Edin. 1819), pp. 187-192.

8. Chinese Tartary or Southern Tibet, nominally subject to the Chinese, had four territorial sub-division. (1) Lasha; (2) Undes, (3) Ladakh; (4) Teshoo-Lomboo. Hamilton: East India Gazetteer: (1928), Vol. II, pp. 63-65.

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contiguous to Nitti,[9] called the Oondes[10] (Undes) or the country of the Wool, laying to the north of Garhwal "after a continuous journey of about 24 days". Here he found "sufficient evidences for believing that adventurers said to be Russians under the garb and character of Mussalmans are busily employed in introducing French and Russian articles of commerce through Yarkand[11] into Kashmir by its northern side. The Russians established commercial depots in Yarkand and Leh[12] in Ladakh[13] from where the merchants obtain a currency in these independent Tartar states."[14] They were then conveyed by the Ladakhee traders to Lasha[15] in Tibet and even to the frontiers of China itself.

To ascertain the nature and extent of the Russian commercial transactions, Mr. Moorcroft sought permission from Lord Minto to visit Bokhara but before he could actually start, reports reached him that streams of Russian merchants carrying loads of merchandise had forestalled him already. In fact, as early as 1580, the Russians made an attempt to obtain a passage to India through the straits of Waygatz.[16] Peter the Great, the founder of Russian greatness, was the first to contemplate the establishment of a great Empire in the East. The Russian eastward boundary was defined by the celebrated line called the Orenburg-Siberian line stretching upto the borders of China, a distance of 2200 miles. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Russians wrested the province

9. Vide ante.

10. Undes or Urna Desa is the general name of the country between the Himalayan ridges and Kailash intersected by the river Sutlej. Nitti pass or Ghat separates Undes from Bhutan. Hamilton: A Historical, Geographical and Statistical Account of India, (1820), Vol. II, p. 593.

11. Yarkand is a throughfare of commerce which then had a population of about 2 lacs. Since 1757 it belonged to the Chinese. Venuikof: Russians in Central Asia etc. Tr. by Michel, (1865), pp. 21-23.

12. Leh, the capital of Ladakh, is the principal mart in Tibet for the sale of shawl wool. It is a great rendezvous for the commercial intercourse between Panjab, Tibet and Russia. Moorcroft: Travels in Himalayas: (1837), Vol. I, p. 259; Thornton: Gazetteer: (1844) Vol. II, pp. 21-22; Vigne; A personal Narative of a visit to Ghazni, Kabul and Afghanisthan, (1840, Lond.), Vol. II, p. 341.

13. Ladakh or Little Tibet is the name of the elevated rugged country north of the Himalayas. It is a province of Tibet. Thornton: Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 1-19; Hamilton, Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 599-600.

14. For. Misc. (Mss.) No. 125, pp. 30-31.

15. Lasha is the capital of the Chinese Tibet and the residence of the Dalai Lama which was at a distance of 40 days journey from Peking and 220 miles from Bengal. It is called Oochong by the Chinese. Hamilton: Gazetteer, Vol. II, (1828), pp. 574-75.

16. Mill: History of India, Vol. I, p. 7.

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of Georgia from the crown of Persia. In 1809, Subhan Kulof, an officer of the Bashkir force, was despatched by the Russian government as commissioner of trade to settle the Bokharan's demand of an extra-rate of duty from the Russian merchants.[17] This resulted in frequent visits of the Russians to those parts for commercial or political purposes. Thus by 1812 they "were endeavouring to secure her frontier by pushing them forward to that snow-slapped summit of the Himalayas, the natural conterminous boundary of England and Russia."[18]

The diary of this shrewd sojourner is full of interesting commercial details. He first visited Dhapa[19] (Deba), a frontier town of the Oondes (Undes), held in jagir by the Grand Lama[20] (Dalai Lama) from the Chinese which touches the territories of Ladakh[21] in the west. Here he was surprised to see the Russian articles e.g., a dazzling fork knife, a fair skin leather and two pieces of attractive woollen cloth; one sky blue, and the other purple inscribed with the words "Drap trees fin" in letters of gold leaf. Mr. Moorcroft was so deeply interested in the Russian woollen pieces that he procured them in exchange of Co's superfine green cloth and presented them as specimen to Lord Minto. "These clothes appear to be of French fabric and the blue one has the letter "A" upon one corner to denote, having been made at "Abbeville" which was reputed ever since the ministry of Colbert for the manufacture of woollen goods. The freshness and unbroken state of the letters show that the clothes had lately come into the country."[22]

Mr. Moorcroft then proceeded to Gortope (Garo or Gardok)[23] where he saw an admirable sword with Russian character engra-

17. Capt. Venuikof. Ibid., p. 409.

18. Ibid., p. 405.

19. Dhapa is the capital of the Undes division of Tibet which has a college and a nunnery.

20. Hamilton: A Statistical Account, (1820), Vol. II, pp. 595-97. The religion of Lamaism, a form of Buddhism, according to Moorcroft, is a strange mixture of metaphysics, mysticism, morality, jugglery and idolatry. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1834, p. 654.

21. Lahdack is the little Tibet bounded by Khotan on the east, Kashmere on the west, Chinese Turkisthan on the north, and Himalayas on the south. Thornton; East India Gazetteer, (1844), Vol. III, pp. 1-12.

22. For. Misc. No. 125, pp. 43-44.

23. Gortope is a town in southern Tartary above 16,000 ft. which deserves the name of an assemplage of tents. It is close to the borders of Ladakh and famous for the export of Shawl wool. Moorcraft is the only European known to have visited it. Hamilton: Ibid. II, pp. 598-599. Thornton: East India Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 189-190.

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ved upon its blade, a clumsy drinking glass, and three dogs with the Gurpur or Military governor of the town who purchased all these from the Russians. Even two of the Governor's horsemen were clothed in Russian duck linen dyed blue. "The Russians came as Mussalmans in Ladakh and Gortope, partook of the meals and entered as much as they could into the society of the Oondes (Undes)."[24] The nearest Russian settlement, we are told, was only at a distance of six weeks journey from Yarkand. Knowing that the Russians annually attended the fair of Gortope (Garo) with a caravan of 500 to 600 horses, he deliberately delayed for some time in order to attend it. The sly and cunning Gurpur or Governor suspecting him to be an English spy "appeared to be extremely solicitious" and wished that he should depart immediately. The Governor expressed grave apprehension for his safety from the length and difficulty of the journey before him because of the risk of a sudden fall of snow at that season of the year blocking completely the passes of the Himachal and shutting him out of the Hindusthan.[25] The argument indeed was quite convincing though it was his sincere desire "to prevent him in seeing the Russians lest this meeting might in some measure interfere with the commercial transactions in which his people were deeply engaged."[26] He was also told here by the local merchants that Russians had been in the habit of annually visiting Yarkand with European articles of commerce and that during the last three years (1809-12) the commercial intercource between the Russians and the Kashmerians had assumed more lively proportion.

It is needless to point out that Russian articles from time immemorial found their way to Chinese Tartary. The following extract from the Travels of Ralph Fitch, a merchant of London, who in the year 1583 visited Bengal, is interesting to show that at that time the Russians were engaged in trade with Bhutan. "There is a country four days' journey from Cuch (Cooch-Behar) or Quichue,....which is called Bootanter and the city Bhoteah;.... there are merchants which come out of China and they say out of Muscovia or Tartary, and they come to buy (sell ?) musk, cambals, agates, silk, pepper, and saffron of Persia.....the northern merchants are apparelled with woollen cloth and hats, white hozen close, and boots which be of Muscovia or Tartary."[27] After about

24. For. Misc. No. 125, p. 43.
25. Ibid. p. 41.
26. Ibid. p. 41.
27. Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages. Quoted by Dr. Rennie in his "story of the Bhutan War" (1865) f. n. pp. 11-13.

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two centuries, in 1774, we find that the Teshoo Lama (A Buddhist official next in rank to the Grand Lama), who was then acting as the regent during the minority of the Dalai Lama, addressing a letter, couched in a friendly spirit, to the then Governor-General of India, the celebrated Warren Hastings, requesting a cessation of hostilities against Bhutan. This letter was conveyed to Calcutta by a Hindu pilgrim named Poorungheer Gosain, who accompanied Captain Turner a decade after, on his mission to Tibet, and a Tibetian named Paima. They were charged to deliver certain presents to the Governor-General, amongst which were sheets of gilt leather, stamped with the Black eagle of the Russian armorial, showing that even at that period there was commercial intercourse between Russia and Central Asia.[28] Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the famous English itinerant Forster, during his sojourn in Kashmere, came across Russian merchants and commercial agents, who frequented these parts and carried merchandise on hundreds of mules laden with raw silk, ordinary calicoes, dry fruits, hand made paper etc., from the marts of Jammu and Srinagar.[29] The articles of exchange were numerous as the Russian trade with Kashmere increased enormously. The Russians brought leathers, felts, carpets, seed pearls, coral beads, tafetas, velvets, drugs, hardwares, mirror, telescopes, etc., which they exchanged with Kashmere shawls, saffrons, spices, paper, dried fruits, silk, honey, copper and tin utensils, indigo or dye-stuffs, cutlery, etc. Kashmere shawls were in great demand in European countries like Paris and Brussels. "The price of....an ordinary shawl....is eight rupees....thence in proportional quality, it produces from 15 to 20....and the value may be enhanced by the introduction of the flowered works."[30]

Mr. Moorcroft after an analytical study of the flourishing Russian trade in these regions, remarks that "since the Gurkhas have over run the hilly country, the English woollen trade has declined much while the French woollens are circulated by the Russians and their agents with an activity and success which threatens to exclude the English woollens wholly from Tartary unless new measures be adopted."[31] What then were the causes of the declining and languid state of English commerce in these regions ?

28. Turner: (Introd.) Ibid., p. XII.
29. Forster: A Journey, Vol. II, pp. 191-5.
30. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 18.
31. For. Misc. Ibid. p. 32.

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"It seems extra-ordinary," writes the sojourner, "that our competitors (the Russians) should be able with the heavy expenses of land, carriages and other transit charges attendant so largely on articles as woollen cloth from Europe to India to contend with us all."[32] According to Mr. Moorcroft, the decline of the English trade was primarily due to the relative cheapness of the French and Russian articles inspite of heavy transit charges. "Though in softness, fineness and in fabric, the French and the Russian woollens are much inferior yet they are sold at such a surprisingly lower rate that it is a strong recommendation in the judgement of a people living in a state of semi-barbarism." The main difficulty of the English was to transport woollen goods to Tartary (Tibet) from India as the hilly traders were not only reluctant to invest huge capital, but also had strong aversions to visit Hindustan for fear of being aflicted with illness.

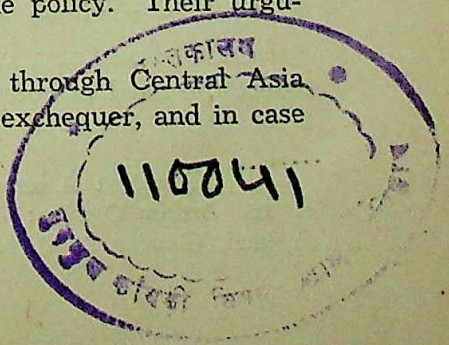
The Russians are satisfied with a profit too moderate to repay any individual for the first expenses, freights, insurances, and long protracted return of capital. The present sacrifices are being made *to force a new trade* for the benefit is found in bartar against articles that bear a high profit in Europe like the Kashmir Shawls. "They not only endeavour to supplant the English in the woollen trade in Tibet but also in Satin, Telescopes, Mirrors and Hardwares, and *if not checked, they may perhaps attempt to push their commerce in Hindustan through Kashmir and the Punjab.* Previously beads of red corals were exported from Hindustan into Tibet at an immense profit but within the last three years (1809-12) the Russians have so glutted the whole of the latter country that the price has fallen so low as to afford only a small benefit excepting the beads of large size, the sale of which is necessarily confined to a few individuals."[33]

Criticism of Lord Minto's (1807-1813) Policy towards Russia

Lord Minto's frontier policy particularly towards Russia has its admirers as well as critics. His supporters not only did not suspect North as a possible quarter of Russian invasion of India but this extremely delicate and debatable issue as impracticable and inconsistent with sound and reasonable policy. Their urgument can be summed up as following :—

(1) The Russian expedition to India through Central Asia would be a heavy drain upon her national exchequer, and in case

32. Ibid. pp. 33-34.
33. Ibid. pp. 32-36.



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of prolonged campaign, would lead to her economic insolvency and moral bankruptcy.

(2) European complications and political entanglements due to Napoleonic menace would detain the bulk of the army on the European soil. Hence the Russian invasion, consisting of a small spare force, would be too feeble and weak enough to die its natural death amidst inclement weather and inhospitable region.

(3) The long distance and insurmountable natural obstacles and impediments — deserted regions, tremendous passes and eternal snows of Palmir or Caucasus — would be a stumbling bloc through which the complex apparatus of modern army could never be conveyed.

(4) The political chaos and continued anarchy in the countries Tibet, Kashmir, Afghanisthan and Central Asian Khanates — of the intervening area would delay and may even prevent the projected Russian attack.

(5) That the patriotic Tartars and independent spirited Gurkhas were competent enough to stem the tide of Russian aggression through that quarter.

(6) The friendly treaty of Amritsar (1809) signed with Ranjit Singh, the Lion of Panjab, and the deputation of sagacious Elphinstone to Kabul "to impress Afghanisthan with a high idea of British power and dignity" (1809) would doubly insure English interest in these regions. Thus Panjab as a buffer state, would be an effective barrier or bulwark against possible Russian advance through Indus and Peshawar.[34]

Indeed Arthur Conolly, two decades after, rightly pointed out that "in speculating upon the chances of an overland invasion we generally flatter ourselves that half our enemies would die of hard labour, bad diet, change of climate, inclement weather, before they reach India. In truth unless the Russians do considerably ameliorate the condition both of their commissariat and medical staff we may reasonably calculate upon a great mortality among them before they exchange shots with us."[35]

On the contrary, critics of Lord Minto's policy, emphatically assert the need of counteracting Russian designs on India. They

34. Beveridge: A comprehensive history of India, Vol. II, p. 834.
35. Arthur Conolly: Journey to the North of India Over-land from England, (London, 1834), p. 329.

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view with alarm and anxiety the rapid territorial expansion of Russia as a source of perpetual danger to the security and safety of British possessions in India. Their contention depended upon the following considerations :—

(1) Though the Russian danger was distant and uncertain yet the extension of Russian influence through peaceful penetration into the countries north of Himalayas would lead to the establishment of Russian political domination of these areas.

(2) That the commercial intercourse would lead not only to an enormous financial profit but also to a tacit economic alliance between the Russians and the inhabitants of these mountainous areas, which would immensely benefit the furflung project of Indian conquest.

(3) That the army of the independent Tartars and freedom-loving Gurkhas was "hopelessly indisciplined and incredibly ill-equipped" to check the Russian invasion. The famous English itinerant Mr. Moorcroft, found the Tartar military force simply "despicable which could be of use only to an invader by furnishing horses, carriages and provisions for military use," and "all resistance of Gurkhas to an European army proceeding through this quarter would be as transient as unavailing."[36] According to Ghulam Hyder, their total army amounted to 2000 horseman and about 1200 infantry, armed with matchlocks, bows, arrows and swords.[37]

(4) The undertaking is not impracticable as the route is beset with no peculiar difficulties and beasts of burden——camels, horses, mules, gulloways, yaks — and supplies for consumption would be easily and cheaply obtained.

(5) The continued disorder and lawlessness of the neighbouring countries on the Indian border would weaken the power of resistance and the traditional practice of extending invitation to the foreign power by the weak and the feeble to oust the strong and the powerful would all the more ensure Russian success.

(6) The treaty of Amritsar by which the British promised nonintervention in (1809) Sikh affairs enabled Ranjit Singh to wage aggressive warfare against Multan, Kashmir and Afghanisthan, and the consequent political turmoil coupled with the Afghan civil

36. Moorcroft: Travels in Himalayas, Vol. I, p. 336, for Misc. No. 125, p. 50.

37. Asiatic Journal: 1835 (Sept., Oct. and Dec.), p. 177.

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strife afforded an excellent opportunity to the foreign invader to fish in the troubled waters and to exploit the situation to her best interest.[38]

(7) As to the inadequate Russian military force it was urged that a handfull of ambitious and aspiring Russian General would be enough to raise, recruit, drill and train or discipline local militia whose intimate knowledge of the country would enormously facilitate the contemplated Russian offensive.

Small wonder, therefore, that the Russophobe contemporary traveller, Moorcroft wrote in 1812, to Lord Minto that the "continuance of Russian trade, whether stationary or progressive, will interfere with the British commerce" and "will give them an acquaintance with the state of the tract and afford them facilities for attempting an invasion of India."[39] The bugbear of Russain invasion so alarmed the sojourner that he was constrained to draw the attention of the then Governor-General of India, "to the vigorous trade carried on by the Russians in the neighbourhood of the Co's territories which is highly prejudicial to the Co's commercial interest which, if not timely counteracted, will probably lead to events that may disturb the tranquillity and endanger the safety of the Co's provinces contiguous to the North Western and Northern frontiers of British India."[40]

Conclusion

After a careful perusal of all available sources of unimpeachable documentary character, an impartial student of Indo-British history stands convinced that consistent with the pacific policy of Home Government, Lord Minto laboured assiduously to preserve peace in India, particularly on the northern frontiers. True he adhered strictly to the policy of neutrality and noninterference but unfortunately "he carried it too far for national interest no less than for national honour."[41] In reality, his policy was chargeable with regard to the frontier regions with dilatoriness, if not with timidity. Lord Minto, says Beveridge, encouraged future insolence and aggression and left the necessary punishment of the turbulent elements as a burdensome legacy to his successor.[42]

38. Conolly: Ibid. pp. 364-66, Journal of Ind. Hist. Quarterly, June 1937, p. 300, (Md. Yasin, Ranjit Singh's Diplomatic Relations).
39. Foreign Misc. No. 125, pp. 55-56.
40. Ibid. p. 29.
41. Thornton: History of India, (1842), Vol. IV, p. 206.
42. Beveridge: Ibid. Vol. II, p. 849.

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Russian commercial intercourse with Khiva and Bokhara in-fact opened a new chapter in the history of Anglo-Russian relationship in Asia. To encourage commercial enterprise, Moravieff, in 1816, led a commercial mission to Khiva which was followed by that of Baron Meyendorff four years later.[43] Before two decades elapsed, the British Government was convinced of undertaking similar commercial enterprise to counter-act the diplomatic intrigue of the Russians. In 1837, Alexander Burnes was despatched at the head of a commercial mission to the region beyond the river Indus.

Thus Lord Minto, considering Russian invasion as impolitic and imprudent, deliberately remained a passive spectator to the spectacle of Russian infiltration to Indian borders in the garb of merchantmen which was destined to embroil the E. I. Co. in a sanguinary war is not too distant a future.

43. Conolly: Ibid. pp. 302-307.

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A Little Known Event in the History of Travancore: The Quilon Plot

BY

B. N. Mehta, M.A., Ph.D.

Professor of History and Politics, Balwant Rajput College, Agra

On May 23, 1812 a daring conspiracy to assassinate the British Resident in Travancore with all the European officers of the subsidiary force stationed at Quilon was disclosed by one Venkata Ramaiah of the 2nd battalion of the 14th regiment to a Jamadar, Jalloo, of the same battalion who reported the disclosure to his adjutant Lt. Cox. It was given out that two havaldars and about 30 sepoys of the 18th had engaged in the conspiracy, the rest of the troops being entirely ignorant of it. A number of discharged sepoys, some merchants of the bazar and some of the police peons had also joined the plot. The plan was to rush upon and assasinate the European officers when all of them were assembled at a dinner and to set fire to the barracks and huts of the sepoys to distract their attention. The conspirators expected to be joined, when they proceeded to act, by two or three hundred men from every corps. They hoped in this way to throw the whole force into such a state of terror and confusion as would enable them to overpower it without any difficulty. They had expectations of French cooperation also in the attempt. A Fakir living with Jamadar Shaikh Hussain of the 14th had hatched the plan in concert with one Pyche Raja. The 22nd of May had been fixed for the act but the plot failed to materialise since some men did not turn up in time.[1]

Alarmed at this sensational disclosure, the Resident and Col. Hall, the officer commanding the subsidiary force, paraded the troops on the afternoon of the 25th of May and Shaikh Hussain was taken out with his accomplices and put in irons. The Fakir and some other men were also arrested. An examination of these people disclosed that Womana Thampi, an ex-Dewan of Travancore, was also implicated in the plot.[2] Later reports showed that the spirit of disaffection was quite widely spread in the force. A

1. Madras Military Consultations, 5, June 1812.
2. Ibid., 5, June 1812.

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number of native officers were mentioned as having been actively implicated together with some important personalities besides Womana Thampi — Pyche Raja of Coliote, Cartigpillay Raja (who had advanced his pretensions to the throne of Travancore after the late Raja's death) and Eliya Raja, the heir-apparent. Evidences tended to implicate all of them, except Eliya Raja, in the conspiracy.[3] At one stage even the Rani of Travancore and the Raja of Cochin were also suspected,[4] although subsequently the suspicion proved to be groundless.[5]

The whole affair was strangly reminiscent of Vellore. Trying to sum up the factors calculated to produce the conspiracy, Col. John Munro, the Resident in Travancore, wrote to the Chief Secretary, Madras Government on January 21, 1813[6] that the principles and objects of the conspiracy appeared to be similar to those of the mutiny at Vellore ; a body of Muslim soldiers discharged from the Raja's service were dispersed all over that country, destitute of subsistence and anxious for a change. Of those men a considerable number were collected at Quilon. Some of them had been admitted to the Company's battalions and others were connected by marriage with native officers and sepoys. The discontent of these men, the 'treacherous, inordinate and vindictive passion' of Womana Thampi and the pretender, Coliote Raja,[7] the ambition of some native officers, the artful and fanatical discourses of the fakirs and the state of uncertainty which the intrigues and the expected return of Eliya Raja created in the minds of the people — all these factors had cooperated to produce the conspiracy. The object of the conspirators, Munro thought, was to set up a Muslim power and to employ Womana Thampi and Pyche Raja as instruments to ensure the obedience of the Hindus until a sufficient Muslim force was got ready. The design of the conspirators, he added, could be understood from the harangues of the Fakir and Shaikh Hussain who had declared it to be degrading for Musalmans to serve a few Europeans of reprobate religion and manners. He concluded that whatever might have been the causes which led to the conspiracy, they could not be attributed to any want of discipline or confidence between the officers and the men. In an earlier letter of October 2, 1812, Munro had mentioned that some months back, the sepoys of the

3. Evidences, Mad. Mil. Cons., 5, 19, 30 June 1812.
4. Ibid., 30, June 1812.
5. Ibid., 13, October 1812.
6. Ibid., 5, February 1813.
7. Coliote Raja is the same person as Pyche Raja.

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18th had been heard applauding the mutiny of Vellore and that a little of the seditious spirit which had prevailed at the time of the Vellore mutiny appeared to subsist among the troops.[8] Captain Hall also wrote to the Chief Secretary, Madras that all the traitors were Musalmans.[9]

Col. Munro's analysis of the causes appears to be sensible but he has not been able to make out a case for his theory of the establishment of a Muslim power in Travancore. At Vellore there were at least the Mysore Princes at hand who could form the nucleus of the plot, but there was none here. Even if Womana Thampi and Pyche Raja could be duped by the Muslim conspirators, there was no muslim who could be placed on the throne and whose name could inspire the sepoys. Yet it sounds very intriguing, if it was true, that all the traitors were Muslims. It is difficult to find from the evidences that they had any grievances. In the absence of any grievances, it could only be 'a regularly organized design for the attainment of a great political purpose rather than a sudden and popular plan of commotion',[10] as Munro thought. To him the number of the native officers accused, the active part taken by the fakirs and the religious prejudices associated with it contributed to show that it was not an ordinary affair, but he could not find any clue to it.

It appears that the earlier analysis of the event conveyed by Munro to the Chief Secretary in his letter of the 16th of June was more correct, although some of his observations were, on his own admission, entirely conjectural. He saw three distinct parties with distinct views, all of which were, however, united in the common plan of subverting the British Government — (a) the troops incited by a few factious officers and intending to establish a military and Mohammadan power; (b) Womana Thampi and Eliya Raja's men seeking to capture power by overawing the subsidiary forces; and (c) Pyche Raja seeking his own restoration to his country with the help of Womana Thampi or Eliya Raja.

It is very likely that Womana Thampi conspired with Pyche Raja to spread disaffection in the subsidiary force to kill all the European officers and with its help to secure the throne of Travancore for either Eliya Raja or Cartigpillay Raja with Dewan-

8. Mad. Mil. Cons., 13, Oct. 1812.
9. Ibid., 7, July 1812.
10. Ibid., 13, October 1812.

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ship for himself and restore Pyche Raja to his country of Coliote. Munro said that Womana Thampi was so little liked by the people and Pyche Raja was so little known in Travancore that it was impossible that they should have formed so ambitious a plan without having secured the assistance of Eliya Raja's friends. This view is supported by the evidence of Pyche Raja and Womana Thampi's confidential men from which it appeared that Womana was the author of the plot, although Munro's suspicions about Eliya Raja's connection with the conspiracy are not borne out by it. His servants of course appear to be deeply involved in the affair. The view can be supported also on the many grounds of probability. Womana Thampi was ambitious; while Dewan, he used to behave very haughtily with the Raja and the Rani; he was the son of a former Raja and might have had some pretensions; he sported Mughal dress and had no scruples in favouring Islam, if not actual conversion of himself.[11] The last characteristic can lend some support to the theory of the establishment of a Muslim power with Womana Thampi as head and explain the fact of all traitors being Muslims, although no inference can be drawn from the evidences about the probability of the conversion of Womana Thampi. Even if this probability be granted, Womana would still remain the chief person to benefit by the revolution.

The whole thing was confused and nothing but the fact of Womana Thampi and Pyche Raja being the chief men in the plot could be ascertained. Munro lamented the great difficulty he experienced in getting evidence. The sepoys who were accused had combined in silence. Local people furnished little evidence and even the offer of pardon failed to draw out much.

To summarize. It cannot be doubted that there was a deep-laid conspiracy in which Womana Thampi and Pyche Raja (who was reputed to be a nephew of the late Pyche Raja of Coliote but who was discovered to be an impostor in course of the trial) figured prominently. What their main objective was is not clear from the confused mass of evidence. At an early stage Munro was of opinion that the plot was aimed at overthrowing the British power in Travancore and effect a revolution at the court by a *coup d' etat* with the help of the subsidiary force. Who was to be set up on the throne is not clear. Various names were given out — Eliya Raja, Cartigpillay Raja and once even Womana Thampi. In case of the elevation of Eliya Raja or Cartigpillay

11. Mad. Mil. Cons., 13, October 1812.

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Raja, Womana expected to secure the Dewanship for himself. In any case Womana Thampi was to benefit by the change. There could be nothing unusual in expecting of Womana Thampi who, after having served the British loyally in his office of the Dewan of Travancore, had been bundled out most unceremoniously to make room for the British Resident himself, that he would seek revenge and create trouble in the hope that events might take the desired turn and place him in power again. The fact of all the traitors in the army being Muslims can be explained by the extreme guillibility of the Muslim masses in India who can be roused to any pitch of fury by merely hinting to them that Islam is in danger. It is just possible that Womana Thampi who was known to favour Islam succeeded in enlisting the support of the Fakir and through him of the Muslim section of the army.

But Munro subsequently changed his opinion and put forward the theory of the establishment of a Muslim power in Travancore which, as we have seen above, is not tenable. That the plot was laid by Womana Thampi for the sake of revenge and his probable restoration to power appears to be quite a reasonable theory.

To complete the story. The Principal court of Travancore passed the sentence of death on both Womana Thampi and Pyche Raja who were found to be the principal conspirators. The latter was pardoned on the intercession of the Madras Government. The Resident pleaded with the Government for clemency to Womana also in view of his having held the Dewanship and helped the British Government at a difficult period, his lack of talents or courage, the unlikelihood of any recurrence of the circumstances which had helped the conspiracy, and his habits of intemperance which were threatening to cut short his life early.[12] The Government did not wish to obstruct the exercise of clemency of the Rani, but, while not agreeing to intercede, hoped that the sentence would be ultimately remitted. Jalloo jamadar and Venkata Ramaiah who had divulged the plot were rewarded. Shaikh Hussain was tried immediately after the discovery of the plot and blown away from the guns on the 28th of May.[13]

12. Mad. Mil. Cons., 6, April 1813.
13. Ibid. 5, June 1812.

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The Chronology of the Chand Dynasty and the Mediaeval Monuments of Kumāon

BY

H. GOETZ,

Baroda

The political and archaeological history of Kumāon and Garhwāl has so far found scant attention. Excellent pioneer work was done by Edwin T. Atkinson in "The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India", vols. II and III (Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces, Vols. 11 and 12, Allahabad 1884-86). Unfortunately the later edition of the Gazetteer (1928) reduced Atkinson's study to a mere extract, in which process not only his very tentative reconstruction became an account of seemingly ascertained facts, but in which also all the historical evidence on which it had been built up, and likewise the majority of the archaeological informations were dropped. Führer's "Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh", vol. II (1891), though adding hardly any new archaeological data, enriched our knowledge by many important inscriptions; yet it is hardly more than a first survey, many readings appear to be erroneous, or the plates spurious; transcriptions and translations are not given, nor historical conclusions drawn. Up to the present day neither copies nor estempages, nor photos of most of these documents have been taken. Later, however, Pt. Nitya Nand Misra, T. D. Gairola and J. C. Powell-Price again took up research work,[1] which includes also the publication of five more copperplate grants of the Chand Dynasty. And likewise attention has been paid to the study and conservation of a number of ruins, especially at Dwārahāt, Jageśwar and Champāvat.[2] However, another systematic survey has not yet been undertaken. The chronological conclusions of Atkinson, Hargreaves and

1. All published in the Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, IV, 1930; VI, 1933; VIII, 1935; XI, 1938; XV, 1942; XVI, 1943; XVIII, 1945

2. Hargreaves, in Ann. Report, Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for 1913-14, pp. 7 ff. D. R. Sahni, Archaeological Survey Reports, 1921-22, pp. 50 ff., and 1922-23, pp. 13 ff.; unfortunately his descriptions are rather vague, and his historical data of little use. Nityanand Misra, Ancient Historical Monuments at Baijanatha and Dwarahata, (J. U. P. Hist. Soc. VIII, p. 71 ff., 1935.)

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Sahni, even with regard to well-known monuments, clash up to a discrepancy of half a millennium in the case of the Dwārahāt temples, not to speak of the attributions in general handbooks, such as Fergusson, Coomaraswamy, Springer. Our picture of the political and archaeological history of Kumāon thus still continues to be chaotic. The principal stumbling block seems to be the chronology of Atkinson which, though hitherto not questioned, cannot be brought in harmony with archaeological facts, nor with the general historical situation of contemporaneous Northern India.

The first task to be undertaken therefore, must be a revision of the hitherto accepted chronology in the light of the wider experience and vaster evidence now available. Its results may be hardly less tentative than those of Atkinson, but anyhow they will have come nearer to the truth and remove some of the worst obstacles now standing in the way of a co-ordination of evidence into an intelligible historical picture.

Let us first analyze the foundations of Atkinson's chronology! So far as the later reigns are concerned, i.e., since Rudra Chand (A.D. 1565-1597), there is no reason to reject tradition, though minor corrections must be accepted as possible. The real difficulty lies in the dates for the earlier Chand Dynasty which the vamśāvalī places between A.D. 700 and 869, resp. 685 and 798; Atkinson, however, between A.D. 953 and 1055. But Atkinson's dates are based on a very contestable conjecture. His chief argument had been that the margin of 160 years between the visit of Hiuan Tsang to Kumāon and the rise of Soma Chand would be quite insufficient for accommodating the reigns of the later Katyūrī kings as well as for the transition from Buddhism to Śaivism. He, therefore, preferred to regard as parallel and contemporary with the first rulers of the later Chand house the "interregnum" of a number of small Khāśiya dynasties (including the later Katyūrīs) between the earlier and later Chand rājās to which the vamśāvalī assigns a period of two centuries (196, or 213 years). He thus arrived at the following calculation: Between the beginning of the reign of Rudrachand (A.D. 1565-97) which can be checked by three grants of A.D. 1567, 1596 and 1597, and the beginning of the reign of Bīra Chand, the supposed restorer of the Chand power, 503 years elapsed according to vamśāvalī, which leads us back to A.D. 1062. Atkinson then conceded ca. 7 years to an actual interregnum between Bīṇa Chand, the last rājā of the earlier line, and Bīra Chand, assigning the rest of the interregnum to parallel dynasties seceded from the Chand kingdom. Accepting the shorter calculation of the three diverging versions of the chronicle for the rule of the earlier Chands, i.e., 113 years, he arrived at A.D. 942 as the begin-

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ning of Soma Chand's reign, but altered this date to A.D. 953 for reasons not given, possibly as an allowance for the first strides of this political adventurer up the steps to a feudatory throne.

This scheme brings us, however, into considerable chronological difficulties. Soma Chand is said to have brought with him a retinue of numerous distinguished brāhmins from his home country, and to have handed over to them the whole administration. It is, thus, evident that he had relied on strong priestly support for his political aspirations; and we must, therefore, expect that this alliance found expression in the establishment of numerous and spectacular temples, such as it had also elsewhere been the case with similar empire builders. At Champāvat, Soma Chand's capital, however, only three great temples are to be found, all of which had been erected in the 15th and 16th centuries. Only one, the Balīśvara, can look back on a history since at least the 12th century. Though it is well possible that the tradition of the Balīśvara may go back even to Soma Chand's reign, evidence is lacking, and so it seems that we must search elsewhere for the religious centre connected with the foundation of the Chand dynasty. It is, therefore, remarkable that for the funerals of their house the later Chands selected the famous sanctuary of Jageśwar, — the Tankara Hill of the Skandapurāna, west of Pithoragarh,—as soon as they had been able to regain control over this part of Kumāon. They must, thus, have regarded Jageśwar as the original religious centre of the dynasty. As a matter of fact, all of the many temples at Jageśwar, except the two oldest shrines, have been built within a very brief period and in a new style so far unknown in Kumāon. All these facts let it appear probable that the principal builders of Jageśwar had been the conquering Chand kings immigrated from Kanauj, and that only the two earliest structures may be attributed to the earliest Katyūrīs, and none to their successors, the rājās of Doti. It is not certain whether Jageśwar had formed part of the territories of Soma Chand who had first controlled only Champāvat to the south-east, and then had ousted the rājā of Sīra to the north-east of Jageśwar; but when he had become the mightiest feudatory of Doti, south-west of Jageśwar, there could have been no difficulty for him to obtain control over that place of pilgrimage, of purānic fame and connected with the reforms of Śaṅkarāchārya, and to establish there his own priestly followers in the many shrines endowed by him. It is characteristic that the second oldest set of temples there, of a style which we may allocate to the 8th or 9th century, consists of a great number of shrines of rather moderate size, with other words, temples of a type in harmony with the position of a mighty,

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but not supreme ruler; but also so numerous as to render dominant the priesthood entrusted with their cult duties. His successor Ātma-Chand must already have gained the control over the whole south of Kumāon; and to him we may attribute the two garbha-grihas and mighty śikharas added to the old Katyūrī temples of the Jageśwara and Mṛityunjaya. For their addition to the central sanctuaries of the place and their dominating proportions could be undertaken only by a mighty sovereign. However, as even these later temples cannot be much posterior to ca. A.D. 900, this whole theory becomes possible only in case we allocate Soma Chand, not with Atkinson to the later 10th, but to the second half of the 9th century when the Jageśwar temples had been built.

Another chronological difficulty is created by the ruins of Dwārahāt, the capital of a branch of the later Katyūrīs. The inscriptions there discovered reveal a first intensive building period between A.D. 1029 and 1048, followed by a second flare-up of activities between A.D. 1143 and 1219. This sudden and, for a small state, excessive artistic activity can be explained only by means of the assumption of a political revolution in Kumāon involving a sudden expansion of the power of the Dwārahāt Katyūrīs. As this could have happened only after the fall of the earlier Chand Empire, this latter catastrophe must have occurred before 1029, so that Atkinson's date of A.D. 1055 for this important event must be too late. Also the inscriptions from the 11th to the early 13th century offer similar difficulties which it would lead too far to discuss here in detail. So much, however, is certain that if the dates of the vamśāvalī must be too early for the first Chand dynasty, those of Atkinson prove to be too late.

Now, Atkinson had arrived at his dates, on the one hand, by reducing the two centuries of a "Khāśiya interregnum" to "parallel local dynasties" and, on the other, by accepting the interval of 503, resp. 510 years between Rudra Chand and Bīra Chand, the supposed restorer of the Chand dynasty. Apparently, he regarded this latter part of the vamśāvalī as trustworthy, representing, as it seemed, an uninterrupted tradition up into the full light of documented history. But both assumptions prove susceptible to serious criticism. Today we know that most of these vamśāvalīs were, in their present form, compiled in majorem gloriam of the then ruling dynasties not before the tolerant period of the Mughal emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr, i.e., in the late 16th and early 17th centuries A.D. It is, therefore, evident that the Kumāon chronicle would never have acknowledged the existence of an "interregnum" of two hundred years, and even a complete break

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in the royal pedigree for a such a long time, if these facts would not have been so well-known and undeniable. There was the old, indigenous aristocracy, subdued and integrated, but still jealous of the immigrants from Kanauj, the Joshis, Bishts and Muduliya Pāndes; and they saw to it that suchlike facts would not be forgotten or obliterated. Moreover, the many old monuments and the inscriptions offer all the possible evidence that this second period of Katyūrī and other Khāśiyas dynasties had not been an "interregnum". In fact, it was they who continued the old indigenous tradition of the country; and it was the foreign earlier Chand rājās who in fact had formed an interregnum within this tradition.

On the other hand, the whole pedigree between Bīra Chand and the actual founder of the later ruling Chand dynasty is open to considerable doubt. For according to a statement of the famous Kumāonī statesman Harakhdeb Joshi published in a memorandum by Mr. W. Fraser in 1813, both Garuṛ Gyān Chand (A.D. 1374-1419 ?) and his great-granduncle Thohar Chand had both come from Jhūsi, the old Pratisthāna, near Allahabad. If there be only a grain of truth in this statement, what about the whole long pedigree down to Bīra Chand, with ca. 15 names about whom nothing else is known ? And there must be some truth in this statement, as the different versions of the vamśāvalī disagree just at this crucial point, Thohar Chand according to one version being the 6th, according to the two others the 2nd predecessor of Garuṛ Gyān Chand. Must, thus, the whole pedigree between Garuṛ Gyān Chand and Bīra Chand be regarded as a fake ?

Let us not forget that none of these vamśāvalīs represents a genuine history of the past, but is a reconstruction based, as far as available, on family records, and further back on local traditions, especially of temples, old grants and myths, compiled by court brāhmins for the dynasties rising to power in the 15th-17th centuries, and thus also in favour of their pretensions and aspirations. In this light it may be permitted to try a new reconstruction of the history of Kumāon.

The actual existence of the earlier Chand dynasty cannot be doubted; the tradition is so strong and detailed that it must have been based on real facts. We have already discussed the probability of a connection between the Jageśwar shrines and the foundation of the Chand house. As already mentioned, we can discern three strata in the temple architecture of Jageśwar.[3] The oldest

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structures are the present-day vimānas of the Jageśvara and Mṛityunjaya temples. They belong to the late Gupta type, low and broad, with slanting slab roof, columns with lotus-halfroundels combined with the pot-and-foliage capitals, and comparatively simple plinth mouldings. This type we know from the earliest temples at Aihole [4] and the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara now ascribed to Śaśānka,[5] i.e., of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. They must, therefore, still have been erected by the earlier Katyūrī princes, though they are surely later than the original foundation by Vikramāditya who controlled also Kashmīr.[6]

The second set is a most interesting one. It comprises almost all the other temples. They are of two types. One is a steep tower, with very low, though distinct storeys, sometimes with a flat roof, sometimes crowned by an āmalaka. This temple type can elsewhere be traced at Aihole, in Gujarāt, Saurāshtra and Central India [7] and belongs to the period between the fall of Gupta civilization, and the Pratihāra and Rāshtrakūta Empires. The other [8] has a gigantic ogival wagon roof placed transversally to the entrance. It is best known from Māmallapuram [9], and also from the Baitāl temple at Bhuvaneśvar [10] and finally the Telī-kā-Mandir at Gwālior.[11] Generally it belongs to the same period, after the Guptas, and before the Pratihāras and Rāshtrakūtas. Other style elements point in the same direction, e.g. the many lion statues on the roofs, a characteristic feature of Pallava and Bādāmī-Chālukya art, the large gavākshas, the Lakuliśa statues, and the post-Gupta style of many sculptures. But a number of other features belong already to a somewhat later, i.e. the Pratihāra-

3. The following notes are based on observations on the spot, likewise those on Katārmal and Dwārahāt, the rest on photos kindly lent by the Director-General of Archaeology. The inscriptions are not of much help but have been attributed by Hargreaves to the 8th and 9th centuries.

4. H. Cousens, Chālukyan Architecture, Calcutta 1926, pls. 5, 10, 12, 14, 21, 23.

5. K. Ch. Panigrahi, Date of the Paraśurāmeśvara Temple at Bhubaneswara, (J.R.A.S.B. XV, No. 2, Letters, 1949, p. 83 ff.)

6. Kalhana, Rājatarangiṇī, transl. by M.A. Stein, 1900, III, v. 188 ; v. 333, etc.

7. E.g. Aihole, cp. Cousens, op. cit. pls. 19, 23, 25 ; Makanganj and Mahua, cp. A.R., A. Dpt. Gwalior 1929-30, pl. 6c, 1927-28, pl. 5a ; Than cp. H. Cousens, Somanatha etc., Calcutta 1931, pl. 48b ; Lakrodā.

8. A.R., A.S.I. 1913-14, pl. IIIa ; 1928-29, pl. IVa.

9. S. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Archaeologie du Sud de l'Inde, Paris 1914 ; L.N. Gubil, in Indian Art and Letters, XXI, p. 44 ff. 1947, etc.

10. H. K. Mahtab, History of Orissa, Lucknow 1947, pl. opp. p. 22.

11. 11th Century A.D. ; but for this time the temple forms an exception.

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Rāshtrakūta-early Pāla period : the gavāksha networks, the plait-work-bands formed of intertwined Nāgas, the Natarājā, Sūrya and Mātṛikā images, the Bhadramukha pediments. In summary, we are in face of a pre-Pratihāra tradition, however surviving into and contemporary with an age in which the struggle between those three great powers of early Mediaeval India had been in full swing. This struggle was fought out mainly under Vatsarājā, Nāgabhata and Bhoja Ādivarāha Pratihāra of Kanauj, between the end of the 8th and the third quarters of the 9th century A.D. And if our theory connecting this group of temples with Soma Chand be correct, the latter would have reigned about the middle of the 9th century. The last stratum, finally, is represented by the garbhagṛihas and śikharas of the Jageśvara[12] and Mṛityunjaya temples. They show the Pratihāra style already fully developed, but still in a comparatively early stage when the remnants of the late Gupta and post-Gupta styles had not yet been discarded completely. They can, therefore, not be later than the reign of Bhoja Ādivarāha ; and as, for other reasons, we had tentatively attributed them to Soma Chand's successor Ātma Chand, the latter would have been a contemporary of Bhoja. Further, as suchlike new style elements always needed some time to penetrate into backward provinces, such as Kumāon must have been then, Ātma Chand's reign would coincide with the later years of Bhoja.

On the basis of the just developed theory, however, we arrive at a much better chronology of the earlier Chand rājās. Let us place the rise of Soma Chand in ca. A.D. 850. First of all this will explain the tradition of the immigration of Soma Chand with a great retinue of brāhmins and Rājputs from Kanauj. For in ca. A.D. 816 the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras had captured the kingdom and city of Kanauj.[13] Soma Chand thus would seem to have been a scion of the Āyudha dynasty of Kanauj, or at least some prominent member of the court of Chakrāyudha. For this reason also the art tradition which he brought to the Himālaya, and which we find in the second stratum of the Jageśwar temples, was pre-Pratihāra and pre-Rāshtrakūta, i.e. the now lost style of Kanauj under the Āyudha kings.

On the evidence of similar historical events we must interpose some decades during which the refugees from Kanauj still hoped to regain their power, for which the invasions of Devapāla

12. A.R., A.S.I. 1928-29, pl. IIIa.

13. R. C. Majumdar, The Gūrjara-Pratihāras, Calcutta 1923 ; Tripathi, History of Kanauj.

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of Gauda (A.D. 843-50) and of Dhruva II Rāshtrakūta must have offered ample opportunities. But with the victorious emergence of Bhoja Ādivarāha such hopes must have vanished, and the survivors of the Āyudha house must have made their submission or tried their luck elsewhere. One of those parties of adventurers in exile may have been that of Soma Chand who after the end of the war between Devapāla and Bhoja obtained a foothold in Sīra, married the rājā's daughter, and finally superseded his father-in-law. Soma Chand's accession to the throne of Sīra in ca. 860, on the other hand, leaves a sufficient interval for the last earlier Katyūrīs as well as for the transition from the Buddhist to the Śaiva faith since the days of Hiuan Tsang. For in revolutionary times the average length of reigns is brief, and as Śaivism had flourished in the country already before Śaṅkarāchārya, the extermination of Buddhism could well have been achieved within a few decades, in any case when on the retreat of the Gaudas it lost its last support.[14] As Soma Chand is believed to have reigned 21 years, his successor Ātma Chand must have come to the throne in ca. A.D. 881, and as his reign is assessed at 19 years, he must have died in ca. A.D. 900, as ruler of most of Kumāon.[15] Bhoja Ādivarāha then was uncontested lord of Northern India. And Ātma Chand could never have become the ruler of most Kumāon without the toleration of the great Pratihāra. But as a vassal of Bhoja, it was natural that he introduced also the architecture then flourishing in the Pratihāra Empire, as is evident in the sanctuaries of the Mṛityunjaya and Jageśvara temples then reconstructed.

As the whole period of the dynasty is stated to have lasted 169, resp. 103 years, its fall must have occurred between A.D. 963 and 1029. In the latter case the assassination of Bīṇa Chand would be contemporary with the earliest known inscription at Dwārahāt. But such a quick reaction looks rather improbable; and we must reckon both with the possibility that in the time span of 169 years some parallel reigns or regencies may have been counted as succeeding each other, as well as that in the span of 103 years some minor rulers may have been ignored. Roughly we may, therefore, date the overthrow of the early Chand dynasty in the beginning of the 11th century.

14. The copper statues of "Paun Rājās" at Jageśwar and Katārmal seem actually to represent Lokeśvara, and prove that even late in the 7th century A.D. the Mahāyāna was still going strong.

15. Also Powell-Price, J.U.P. Hist. Soc. IV, p. 5 ff., and XVIII, p. 214 ff. places the end of earlier Katyūrī rule into the 9th century A.D.

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संदर्भ ग्रंथ
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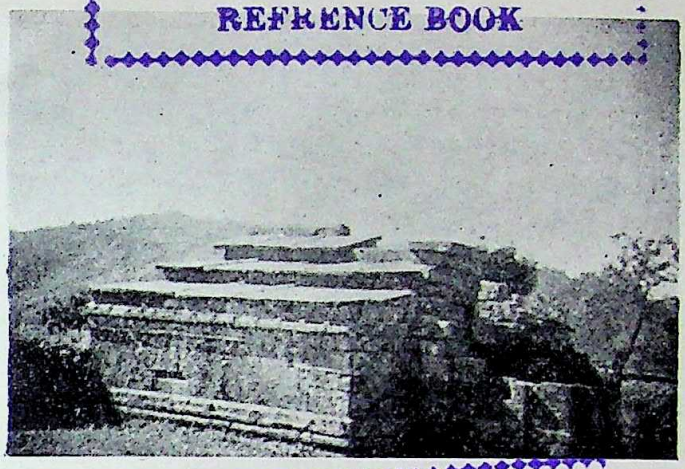

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

FIG. 1

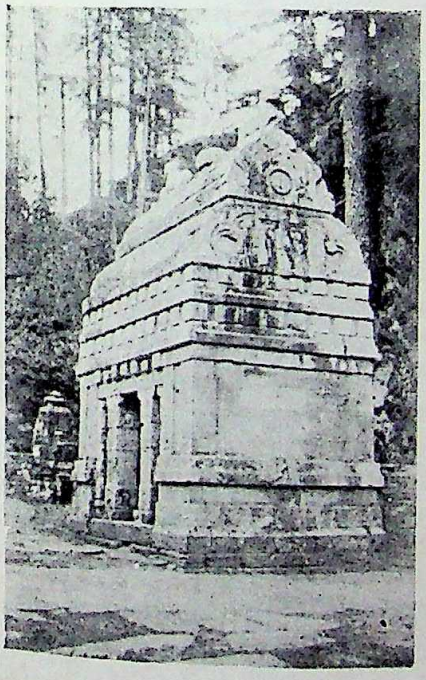

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

Fig. 1. Temple with slab-roof. Māniyār Group, Dwārahāt. End of the early Katyūrī period, ca. 7th or 8th century A.D.

Fig. 2. Nava Devī Temple at Jageśwar. Here attributed to the reign of Soma Chand, third quarter of the 9th century A.D.

Fig. 3. Lakuliśa Temple at Jageśwar. Same, or somewhat later time.

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Whether the stories about Bīṇa Chand's cruelty are true, may be left undecided. Though in their later form they have been reduced to the level of standard folk tales it is well possible that Bīṇa Chand, like Harsha of Kashmīr (A.D. 1089-1101), had been driven to the application of terror measures against his unruly nobles. And in this case we have to search for another reason for the fall of the earlier Chand kingdom. This probably was another invasion of armed refugee bands into the Champāvat kingdom, so near to the plains, as a result of the collapse of Rājyapāla Pratihāra of Kanauj under the double attack by Mahmūd of Ghaznī, and of the Chandelas and their allies. But as Mahmūd's campaigns were mere raids, most of the refugees were absorbed by the rising Rāshtrakūta, Chauhān and Chandela kingdoms, and these bands merely weakened Chand rule so much that the Katyūrīs could overthrow it.

The temple groups of Dwārahāt[16] would then have been the victory monument of the then most successful branch of the restored Katyūrī dynasties. The chronology of these temples has given occasion to the most differing opinions. The only dates so far known which can be connected with any temples are that of A.D. 1084 for the Badrināth Temple, mentioning a rājā Sadhuvaradeva as builder, and two others nearby, A.D. 1083 and 1085, referring to unidentified monuments. All other inscriptions are connected with sculptures only, the style history of which is hitherto largely unknown. Now the Badrināth represents the preponderating temple type of the second Katyūrī period all over Kumāon, and thus presents no special difficulty. But almost all other temples of Dwārahāt are in a very different, degenerated and rather ossified style. Hargreaves, therefore, believed that they could not be earlier than the 14th century. Sahni was prepared to place at least the Ratan Deo group so late though it does not differ much from the average Dwārahāt type.

However, on a comparison with Jageśwar and Katārmal, the problem of the Dwārahāt temples proves not so baffling. One temple in the "Māniyār" group stands very near to the Katyūrī vimānas at Jageśwar. In the Bān-Deo we are confronted with a shrine intermediate between the pre-Pratihāra step tower and the early Pratihāra śikhara type. The Ratan Deo group represents in one respect a degeneration, in another an elaboration of the Bān-Deo. The Kacherī group then leads over to the provincial

16. Hargreaves, Arch. Survey Ann. Rep. Northern Circle, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, 1913-14, p. 7-9; A.R., A.S.I., 1922-23, pls. 6a-d; 1923-24, pl. 4c; 1924-25, pl. 3d.; see also note 2.

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high-Pratihāra type which we find, best, in the single temple opposite it in the Mṛityunjaya and in the subsidiary shrines to the Badrināth. In this latter we find a new, imported type, nearly related to what we find in the plains in the smaller Chāhamāna temples. It is a reconstruction, for inscriptions found there give dates earlier than A.D. 1084, viz. A.D. 1046 and 1048. On the Gujjar-Deo we shall have to come back later on.

Though an absolute chronology of the Dwārahāt temples, thus, still remains beyond reach, nevertheless certain fundamental facts emerge. The earliest shrines there must be older than the rise of the Chand dynasty, or contemporaneous with it. Most of the other temples represent a provincial survival of this early Pratihāra style with a slight admixture of later elements; probably they are not older than the early 11th century, and merely form the revival of a long suppressed art. But then, with freedom, new influences came in from the plains and were made use of, now no more so much in Dwārahāt as over the whole of Kumāon.

The old Chand kingdom, thus, must have definitely come to an end before A.D. 1029, except perhaps for a few obscure families. The 11th and 12th centuries and the beginning of the 13th century form the second Khāśiya period, the "Golden Age" of Kumāonī art. Practically all the famous places of pilgrimage whose foundation goes back to the first Katyūrī period, such as Badrināth, Kedārnāth, Bhāgeśwar, many smaller shrines at Jageśwar, and the old Katyūrī capital Kārtikeyapura-Baijnāth were rebuilt.[17] And the later shrines of Jageśwar and Bhāgeśwar, Kaṭārmal (Barā-Ādit Temple), Kheti Khān, Tālihāt, the tridents of Bārahāt and Gopeśwar and many smaller, not yet surveyed monuments fall into these two centuries of many small, but flourishing kingdoms.

According to the Kumāon vamśāvalī the Chand kingdom was, after 196 years, finally restored by Bīra Chand who slew the Khāśiya rājā Sonpāl and established himself at Champāvat. Though Bīra Chand may be accepted as historical, he is nevertheless a rather mysterious person. Nothing about the pedigree connecting him with the earlier Chand rājās is known. He was brought from Malās (the Tarāi) by a certain Sauṇ Kharāyat about whom nothing else is known, and given out as a descendent of rājā Sonsār Chand who had died more than 250 years ago. He was acknowledged by the exiled brāhmin and Rājput families who had once been the aristocracy of the Champāvat empire. On the other

17. At least one reconstruction of Badrināth is said to have been executed in the 12th century.

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hand, of the whole long line of rājās who are said to have succeeded him, nothing is known except the names, and after Thohar Chand even this pedigree is in disorder. All this does not make a trustworthy impression. Had Bīra Chand actually been a genuine scion of the old Chand family, and did he in fact restore their kingdom ? On the basis of our chronological scheme Bīra Chand would have reigned at the beginning of the 13th century, approximately A.D. 1205-1220 (15 years).

This, however, was a time of general chaos in the Indian plains as well as in Kumāon and adjoining Nepāl. The Bārahāt and Gopeśwar trident inscriptions reveal that A.D. 1191 the Malla rājās who then were rising to power in Nepāl,[18] overran Kumāon and Garhwāl. In 1192 the Rājput power in the Ganges plains was overthrown by the Muslims. Tradition has it that Rājputs and Brāhmins fled in great numbers to the Himālaya and settled in its valleys everywhere.[19] This migration had far-going repercussions on the history of the whole Himālaya from Kashmīr to Nepāl. We may assume that its effect on Kumāon had not been very different: A temporary flare-up of the old political ambitions of the established kingdoms with the support of refugee mercenaries, and at last a general chaos when the number of those homeless adventurers became so considerable as to threaten the very existence of the old kingdoms.

Had Bīra Chand actually been more than such an adventurer from the plains who because of a real or faked, in any case very distant relationship with the first Chand dynasty had been acknowledged as a pretender by the oppressed aristocracy of the former Champāvat kingdom ? Probably the latter might not have been too inquisitive in examining the claims and promises of a bold newcomer supported by a strong following of refugee warriors and brāhmins. Had he, on the other hand, been related with those Jhūsi Rājputs from whom Thohar-Mall is later on said to have come, at least according to the statement of Harakhdeb Joshi ? In the chaos created by the Malla invasion he may well have been able to acquire a short-lived kingdom which never comprised the old Katyūrī states (Dwārahāt inscriptions of A.D. 1214 and 1219) nor can have survived him. For the Baliśwar inscription of A.D. 1223 in Sūi shows us Krāchalla Deva Jina of Kāntipur in Nepāl as the lord of south-eastern Kumāon, and amongst his retinue two, else unknown, members of some Chand family whose relation to Bīra Chand or to the earlier Chands is not known. What-

18. H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India.
19. Indian Antiquary, XXXVI, p. 264 ff., 1907.

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ever the fate of the Chand dynasty in the later 13th and early 14th centuries may have been, they can hardly have been more than small local chieftains. Then the devastation of Katehir by Sultān Balban (A.D. 1266-78) must have brought more refugees to Kumāon and, with them, probably further social and political unrest. But also the whole character of the period was most unfavourable to the formation of strong kingdoms. Hindu feudal society of the north had entered into a progressing disintegration which in Kashmīr can be traced since the second Lohara Dynasty, in Chambā, even more pronounced, since ca. 1150, whereas the contemporary Rājput dynasties of the plain hardly show a better picture. Also the terrorism of early Muslim rule would not have tolerated the rise of any possible opponent. Hindu civilization, too, must have sunk down to the same barbarian level as that to be observed in the Panjāb Himālaya during the same period.

Fortunately the inscriptions catalogued by Führer and Pt. Nitya Nand Miśra (see Appendix) permit us to reconstruct a good deal of the earlier history of the later Chand dynasty. For however poor the available information may be, it leads us back from Rudra Chand (A.D. 1565-1592) whom Atkinson had regarded as the earliest chronologically ascertained ruler, to Nara Chand, ca. A.D. 1285 (?) or 1297-1321. Even the mere comparison of these meagre dates with the vamśāvalī permits very elucidating conclusions. First of all, the reign of Nara Chand proves to be much later than given in the vamśāvalī (A.D. 1170-1177, respectively 1107-1125), thus confirming our suspicion that the chronological confusion must have been due to some dynastic change in the time between Thohar Chand and Garuṛ Gyān Chand.

We are, thus, in a position to check up, from the other end, our calculation of the time of Bīra Chand. In view of the many discrepancies between the various versions of the vamśāvalī, and between that latter and the inscriptions, an exact calculation is not possible. Bīra Chand's reign is stated to have lasted 13, resp. 15 years; it creates no difficulties. But that of Nara Chand is given as 7, resp. 18 years whereas his inscriptions extend over 24, if not even 36 years. However, Nara Chand seems to have been the actual builder of the later Chand Raj, and we can, therefore, not know how long he may have ruled merely as the chieftain of a small territory, how long as the ruler of a larger district or part of Kumāon, and from which of these events his reign may officially have been counted. We start, therefore, calculations best from his last known inscription. The vamśāvalī counts 97, resp. 102 years between the end of Bīra Chand and the end of Nara Chand's reign. As the Chanyāgāon grant of Nara Chand is dated

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A.D. 1321, Bīra Chand must have reigned from A.D. 1209-1224, resp. A.D. 1204-1219 which tallies very well with our former calculation of ca. A.D. 1205-1220.

Now we come to the crucial point of Chand history, the reigns of Garuṛ Gyān Chand (Jñāna Chandra Garuḍa) and of his immediate predecessors. Here we are confronted not only with the tradition already mentioned that both Garuṛ Gyān Chand as well as his great-grand uncle Thohar Chand had come from Jhūsi in the plains, but also with a complete confusion in the vamśāvalī and a not less obvious discrepancy between the sequence of the rulers in the chronicle and the dates of the inscriptions. A complete solution of these problems can, of course, not be expected at present, but a certain elucidation at least is possible. Let us, first, not forget that a vamśāvalī is a dynastic pedigree, and that the seniority sequence within the ruling family need not coincide with the actual sequence of reigns. Besides, as we have to do with a feudal period, both the family pedigree and the list of reigns must occasionally be dissolved into parallel branches. For not before Bhārati Chand (Atkinson: A.D. 1437-50, inscription A.D. 1469) Kumāon was reunited again.

Between Nara Chand's last inscription A.D. 1321 and Garuṛ Gyān Chand's Rāigāon pillar inscription of A.D. 1367 there is an interval of only 36 years, and between the first and Garuṛ Gyān Chand's Balīśvara temple inscription at Champāvat of A.D. 1390 an interval of 69 years. Between both, however, 9 respectively 12 reigns are interposed, including that of Thohar Chand who came from Jhūsi. Of these we further know at least Trilokya Chand who is remembered as the first again to take up the offensive against the Katyūrīs, and Abhaya Chand who is mentioned on the Kīrttistambha of A.D. 1361 or 1371 in the Balīśvar Temple at Champāvat. We must thus compress at least 7 to 10 reigns into the brief interval of 34 years between A.D. 1321 and ca. A.D. 1355. With other words, the kingdom of Nara Chand's successors must have become weak and divided. In the beginning of the 14th century A'lā-ud-dīn's oppression and conquests, and the repeated revolts in Katehir, east of the Ganges, drove many brāhmins and Rājputs into the hills, and so it is probable that also Thohar Chand may have sought a refuge in the Champāvat rāj which since Bīra Chand had been in clan relationship with Jhūsi. As he has been included in the vamśāvalī, it is possible that he married into the Chand family and acquired great influence. And likewise that his family played the role of hereditary regents for the degenerated rājās, and actually fought the battles of reconquest for Trilokya

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Chand. This also seems to have been the original position of Garuṛ Gyān Chand. That he could set up the Rāigāon pillar inscription of A.D. 1367 practically parallel to Abhaya Chand's Kīrttistambha at Champāvat, A.D. 1361 or 1371, speaks for his great influence. It seems that the continuous warfare in Katehir needed a permanent frontier army under an able leader. We do not known when Garur Gyān Chand could supersede Abhya Chand; Aṭkinson believes in A.D. 1374. But the bloody invasions of Katehir by Sultān Fīrōz Shāh between A.D. 1380 and 1385 must have immensely strengthened his position as champion of the Kumāon Hindus. And this sets into the right light the curious report that he went to Delhi to regain Katehir. A.D. 1388 Fīrōz Shāh had died; 1390 civil war had broken out between the last Tughluq princes. This must have been the occasion on which Garuṛ Gyān Chand stretched out his hand for the governorship of Katehir, including Kumāon, probably in the hope later to transform this nominal governorship into an independent great kingdom. In the Himālaya the rājās of Nūrpur tried the same experiment in the 17th century, those of Kāṅgṛā in the 18th, those of Jammū in the 19th, not to speak of other princes in Rājputānā, Bundelkhand and other parts of India.

Garuṛ Gyān Chand's kingdom must have disintegrated after his death. His last inscription is of A.D. 1419. And between this date and the reign of Bhārati Chand Kumāon was again divided between brothers and nephews of the Chand house, and the Katyūrīs regained their independence. The inscriptions give us the following dates:

Harihar Chand A.D. 1397 (as yūvarājā ?);
Vikrama Chand 1423;
Dharma Chand 1429;
Kalyān Chand (1433), 1440, 1450, 1461;
Ratan Chand 1455;
Hari Chand, 1461;
Pratāp Chand 1461;
Bhārati Chand 1469-1499;
Kīrati Chand 1500;
Bhishan (Bhīshma) Chand 1511, 1512, 1519, 1533;
Kālī Kalyān Chand 1559;
Rudra Chand 1567, 1596, 1597,

when finally we are in the full light of history.

In the century between Bhārati Chand and Rudra Chand (A.D. 1467-1567) the reconquest, unification and centralisation of

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Kumāon was accomplished, and Almora raised to the position of central capital. Probably in Rudra Chand's reign the present vamśāvalī was reconstructed by the court pandits.

In its great outlines the history of this epoch corresponds with the development which could be observed in all the hill states further to the west. With the weakening of Tughluq rule the Hindu dynasties again rise from obscurity, in Chambā Vairaśi-varman, in Kumāon Nara Chand;[20] in the late 14th century the present kingdoms begin to outline themselves: Bhotavarman in Chambā, Trilokya Chand, Abhaya Chand and Garuṛ Gyān Chand in Kumāon, Ajayapāla in Gaṛhwāl; about the middle of the 15th century they begin to expand and again to take up cultural activities: Ānandavarman in Chambā, Sansār Chand I of Kāṅgṛā, Bhārati Chand, Ratan Chand and Kīrati Chand in Kumāon; in the later 16th and early 17th century the political and cultural renascence has finally gained its full swing: Pratāpsinghvarman and Balabhadravarman in Chambā, Sūraj Mall and Jagat Singh in Nūrpur, Bhūpat-Pāl and Sangrām-Pāl in Baśohlī, Ajbar-Sen in Maṇḍī, Rudra Chand and Lakshmī Chand in Kumāon, Mān Śāh, Sāma Śāh and Mahīpat Śāh in Gaṛhwāl.

The parallelism of developments in this later period in Kumāon and Gaṛhwāl is corroborated also by the archaeological evidence. There is a complete gap in the art tradition of Kumāon between A.D. 1223 and 1322, in that of Gaṛhwāl between A.D. 1191 and 1358. The first monuments reappearing thereafter, however, reveal a complete relapse into a primitive folk art: The Ganeśa image of Baijnāth, A.D. 1322, and the palace of rājā Ajayapāla at Śrīnagar, Gaṛhwāl, A.D. 1358, "with elaborate quaint sculptures." The same may be said of the Rāigāon pillar of Garuṛ Gyān Chand A.D. 1367 and the Champāvat Kīrtistambha of Abhayachandra A.D. 1361 or 1371.

Garuṛ Gyān Chand's inscription of A.D. 1390 mentions the erection of a temple at Balīśvar, Champāvat.[21] It must have been either the precursor or the first stage of the reconstruction of the state sanctuary which was undertaken under Udyān Chand (A.D. 1420-21) and, according to an inscription, completed under Vikrama Chand (A.D. 1423-1429). This very rich structure is completely alien to Himālayan art, an undiluted import of the somewhat fussy and careless, degenerated variety of the beautiful

20. In Gaṛhwāl a first sign of life is a Ganeśa image inscription of A.D. 1322 mentioning a certain Kadāru Parasīyo, possibly a local chieftain.

21. Arch. Survey Ann. Rep. 1913-14, I, pl. IIb.

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but overelaborate late Solankī-Vāghelā architecture of Gujarāt such as it was revived in the 15th century A.D. in Gujarāt and Rājputānā.[22] As it is known that Udyān Chand also summoned brāhmins from Gujarāt, the Balīśwar Temple must have been built by masons who had come in the company of these brāhmins. The idea, however, may go back to Garuṛ Gyān Chand's visit to Delhi. In the preceding hundred years Gujarāt and Rājputānā had been subjected to the ravages of the armies of A'lā-ud-dīn, Muhammad Tughluq and Fīrōz Shāh. The inevitable decline of Hindu building activities there must, thus, have made it easy for the ambitious Kumāon rājās to engage architects and masons. The now visible repairs of the Balīśvara sanctuary proper belong to a much later period in which the understanding of this art had already been lost whereas the Muslim dome and a crude "Rājput" folk art were coming in use, i.e. to the later reign of Udyot Chand (A.D. 1678-98).

Somewhat later than the Balīśwar at Champāvat is the small, but fine "Gujjar Deo" (i.e. the Gujarātī Deval) Temple at Dwārahāt,[23] likewise in the Gujarātī-Rājasthānī style. It is of the type of the Navalakhī temples of Sejakpur and Gumli,[24] whereas the similar Eklingjī (Udaipur) was built as late as A.D. 1488 by rāṇā Rāi-Malla. At approximately the same time the "Gujjar Deo" must have been erected by foreign masons, under the last Katyūrī rājās, and was probably just completed when their defeat by Kīrati Chand (A.D. 1488-1503) forced them to retire deeper into the mountains.[25]

Also the two other temples at Champāvat, the Ratneśvara (Nāgnāth) and Champāvatī (Ghatotkacha) belong to this Gujarātī-Rājasthānī school. It is rather difficult to date them exactly, considering the extreme stagnation of this style over several centuries. Notwithstanding the rich decoration, their general character is rather plain and serene when compared with the Balīśvar and Gujjar Deo temples. The form of their pent roofs is found e.g. also at the Mahākālī Mātā Temple at Dabhoi,[26] which at a superficial impression might justify an ascription to the 13th-14th centuries A.D. But porches with the same, though less elaborate decoration can be traced at Chitorgarh in the late 15th century,

22. H. Goetz, The Role of Gujarāt in Indian Art History, (Bull. Baroda State Museum III, pt. 1, p. 1 ff., 1947).

23. Arch. Survey, Ann. Rep. 1913-14, pt. I, pl. IIIb; 1923-24, pl. IV. d.

24. Burgess-Cousens, Architectural Remains of Northern Gujarāt, where ascribed to 11th century; Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarāt, places them with more justification into the late 12th to early 13th century A.D.

25. The temple was in the 18th century destroyed by the Rohillas.

26. Hirananda Sastri, The Ruins of Dabhoi, Baroda 1940.

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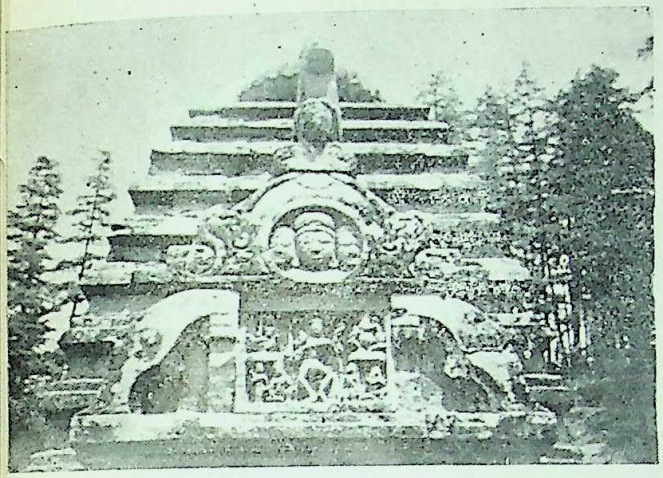

FIG. 4

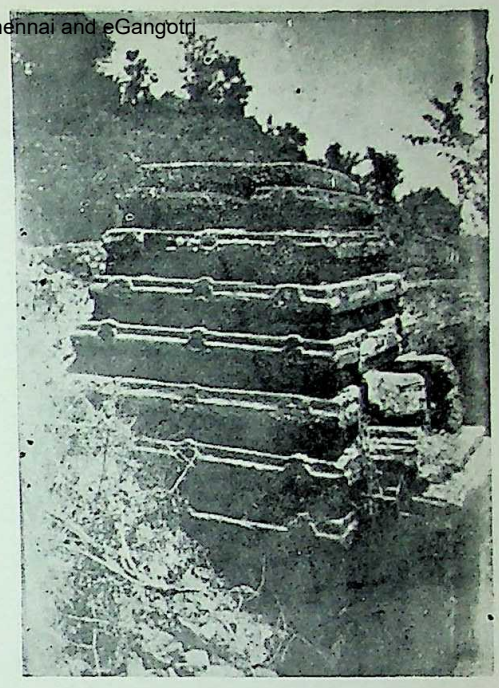

FIG. 5

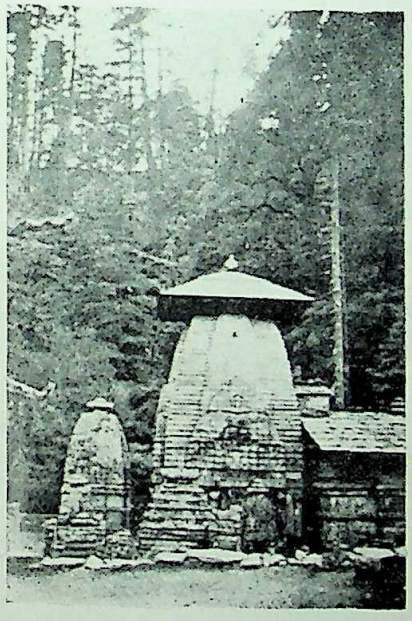

FIG. 6

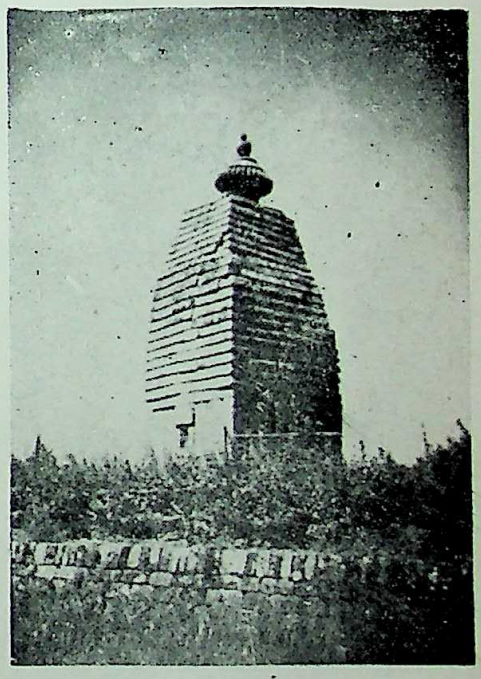

FIG. 7

Fig. 4. Pediment and Śikhara of the Balīśvar Temple, Jageśwar. Same, or some what later time.

Fig. 5. Step-roof Shrine at Katārmal. Style of the reign of Soma Chand.

Fig. 6. Garbhagriha and Śikhara of the Jageśvara Temple at Jageśwar. Reign of Ātma-Chand, end of 9th century A.D. To the right the earlier Katyūrī Vimāna.

Fig. 7. Ban Deo at Dwārahāt. Ossified relic of the early Pratihāra style under the earlier Chand Dynasty, or the later Katyūrīs.

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and similar pentroofs appear also in Mān Singh's (A.D. 1486-1518) palace in Gwālior Fort. Finally, the very exact and neat workmanship of the masonary, the almost cubic form of the buildings, the very developed shape of the niche arches, the playful arrangement of the upper wall niches suggesting a suspension from the cornice, the degeneration of certain ornaments and the complete stiffness and misproportion of the figures which is never to be found even in works of the 15th century, permit only an attribution to the 16th century. Their builder may have been rājā Rudra Chand who has left an inscription in the Ratneśvar temple[27] and "reestablished Maheśvar worship" at the Balīśvar shrine. It seems that the sanctuaries had been desecrated during the invasion of Husain Khān Tukrīya, the Mughal governor of Lucknow, and that the temples were erected to placate the wrath of gods of the deserted capital since the court had in A.D. 1560 moved to Almora.

We cannot here follow the later history of temple architecture in Kumāon and Garhwāl. In the latter state first Mān Śāh had in A.D. 1547 endowed the temple of Ekāsur at Pāṭal (Mandarsyūn). But Garhwāl architecture has unforunately not yet been explored, notwithstanding the valuable reference collected by Atkinson for both the latter and Kumāon. For our purpose it would be important to know which links in later architecture connect the Jageśwar (and Bhāgeśwar ?) temples with the temples erected in Kulū by Jagat Singh. Shrines like the Bhīmeśvar at Bhīmtāl[28] built by Bāz Bahādur Chand (A.D. 1638-78), or the Lakhamandal Temple in the Dehrā Dūn District[29] may well have played such a role. For Bāz Bahādur Chand as well as his successor Udyot Chand (A.D. 1678-98), a fervent temple builder, have been contemporaries of Jagat Singh (A.D. 1637-72) and Bidhi Singh (A.D. 1672-88), the originators of most śikhara shrines in Kulū, and of Chatar Singh (A.D. 1664-90) who placed the wooden roofs on the Chambā temples.

Here it suffices to point out that the great Kumāon temples of the 15th and 16th century had in fact been the product of a conscious renascence of Hindu culture after a prolonged interruption of the tradition, and that they represent a pure import from Mewār (as link with Gujarāt) in the same way as the "Ruined Temple" of Nūrpur represents an import from Mathurā and Amber, the temples of Sansār Chand I at Kāṅgṛā that of a not yet defined

27. Later grants by Udyot Chand A.D. 1683.
28. Atkinson III, plate opp. p. 80.
29. Arch. Survey Ann. Rep. 1923-24, p. 57 and pl. XXII, and 1929-30, pl. 5.

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primitive style somehow connected with later Marāthī and early Rājput architecture, and in the same way as, finally, the earliest "Rājput" paintings from Nūrpur and Baśohlī must go back to a Rājasthānī source.

Appendix

List of Historical Inscriptions from Kumāon and Garhwāl.
(Most of these inscriptions have so far not yet been copied)

Abbreviations

Atk. = Atkinson, The Himalayan Districts of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, 1884-86 = Gazetteers.

F. = Führer, The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, II, 1891.

Hargreaves = Ann. Report, Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for 1913-1914, p. 7-9.

Nitya Nand Miśra = J. U. P. Hist. Soc. XV, pt. 2, p. 53 ff., 1942.

Sahni = Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey 1921-22, pp. 50 ff., and 1922-23, p. 13 ff.

Chhabra = notes kindly placed at the disposal of the author by the Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund.

8th Century, 4 Jageśwar inscriptions (Hargreaves).

9th Century, 4 Jageśwar inscriptions (Hargreaves).

10th Century, 4 Jageśwar inscriptions (Hargreaves).

A.D. 1029, Dwārahāt inscriptions (Atk.).

1046-1048, Dwārahāt inscriptions (Atk.).

1143 (or 45), Dwārahāt: Śiva-Pārvatī image inscription of Gulana

1103, Dwārahāt (Dunagiri): Navagraha slab (Sahni). (Hargreaves, Chhabra).

1143, Dwārahāt, Thalkoraka Naula: On a broken Vishnu image, mentioning the erection of a temple by Gulana (Hargreaves). (Perhaps identical with the preceding one).

1181, Dwārahāt (Dunagiri) inscription of Ananta-Pāla Deva (Atk., 1183; Hargreaves).

1183/5, Dwārahāt (Badrināth) inscription on Lakshmī Image pedestal? (Hargreaves, Chhabra).

1184, Badrināth inscription with garuḍa, mentioning erection of temple by Sadhuvaradeva (Sahni; Hargreaves).

1191, Inscriptions of Anekamalla Deva, Nepālese invader of Garhwāl, Bārahāt-Tihrī and Gopeśwar tridents, (Atk., last one also Führer).

1202, Baijnāth Grant of Indradeva (Atk., F.).

1203, Baijnāth Ganeśa image inscription (F.).

1214, Dwārahāt inscription (Atk., Hargreaves).

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1219, Dwārahāt (Goril temple) inscription (Atk.).
1223, Balīśvar (Sūi Bisung) inscription of Krāchalla Deva Jina of Kāntipura, on back of grant of Desata Deva Katyūrī (Atk. F.).
1243 (cp. 1143 ; Hargreaves).
1285 (?), Ganganāū grant of Nara Chand (F.).
1297, Chanayāgāon grant of Nara Chand (F.).
Early 14th Century, Jageśwar inscriptions (Hargreaves).
1322, Baijnāth Ganeśa image inscription (Atk., F.).
1321, Chanayāgāon grant of Nara Chand (F.).
1322, First Garhwāl inscription (Atk.).
1358, Śrīnagar : Ajayapala Chand's Palace (Atk., F.).
1361, Champāvat : Kīrttistambha of Abhya Chand (Chhabra ; Hargreaves). (cp. 1371).
1367, Rāigāon pillar inscription of [Garuda] Jñāna Chand (F.).
1371, Balīśvar (Champāvat) pillar inscription (F.). (cp. 1361).
1382, Āsargāon grant (F.).
1385, cp. 1285 (date probably misread by F.).
1390, Balīśvar (Champāvat) mandapa inscription, erection of temple by Garur Gyān Chand (Jñāna Chandra). (Hargreaves, Chhabra).
1397, Āsargāon grant of Bhārati Chand (F.). (spurious, or as prince ?).
1398, Ḍaḍāgāon grant of Jñāna Chand (F.).
1412, Tapnipāl grant of Jñāna Chand (F.).
1412, Rāigāon pillar inscription of Jñāna Chand (F.).
1412, Kheti Khān temple grant of Jñāna Chand (Sahńi).
1418, Guḍāmagalgāon grant (F.).
1419, Champāvat grant of Jñāna Chand (F.).
1423, Blaīśvar grant (Sūī Bisung) (F.).
1423, Inscription of Vikrama Chand (Atk.).
1429, Grant of Dharma Chand (Nitya Nand Miśra).
1433, Rāigāon pillar inscription (F.).
1433, Balīśvar (Champavat) grant of Kalyān Chand (F.) (or 1733).
1440, three Ḍaḍāgaon grants of Kalyān Chand (F.). (date correct ?; or as prince ?).
1449, Kheti Khān land grant by Bhārati Chand (F.).
1450, Bhāgeśvar Temple built ? (F., Atk.).
1455, Ganganāū grant of Nara Chand (F.). (spurious ?).
1461, two Ḍaḍāgāon grants of Kalyān Chand (F.).
1461, Ḍaḍāgāon grant of Pratāp Chand (F.).
1468, Ḍaḍāgāon grant of Sutiranamalla (F.).
1469, Tyārśāū grant of Bhārati Chand (F.).
1475, Guḍāmagalgāon grant (F.).

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1477, Almora grant of Bhārati Chand (Nitya Nand Miśra).
1499, Baijnāth Vishnu image inscription, (F., Atk.).
1500, Pāū grant of Kīrtti (Kīratī) Chand (F.).
1505, Champāvat grant of Kīratī Chand (F.) (not 1805).
1511, Champāvat grant of Vishnu (Bishan) Chand (F.).
1512, Champāvat grant of Vishnu Chand (F.).
1514, Almora grant of Bhīshma (Vishnu) Chand (Nitya Nand Mīśra).
1519, Three Champāvat grants of Vishnu Chand (F.).
1533, Phulārā grant of Vishnu Chand (F.).
1554, (Cp. 1654).
1559, Ḍaḍāgāon grant of Kalyān Chand (F.).
1567, Grant of Rudra Chand (Atk.).
1596, Grant of Rudra Chand (Atk., F.).
1597, Champāvat grant of Rudra Chand (Atk., F.).
Not dated, Champāvat Nāgnāth (Ratneśvar) temple inscription of Rudra Chand (Chhabra).
1618, Gaḍi-uḍā grant of Śrīmalla (Trimal) Chand (F.).
Not dated, Balīśvar (Champāvat) inscription of "[Su]ma[ra]chandra" (i.e. Trimal Chand) and prince "Va[ba]lalachandra" (i.e. Bāz Bahādur Chand) (Chhabra).
Not dated, Balīśvar (Champāvat) inscription of (prince ?) Sulabhadrachandra (Chhabra).
1654, Pinnāth grant of Bāz Bahādur Chand (Atk., probably also F.).
1664, Balīśvar (Champāvat) grant of Bāz (Vijaya) Bahādur Chand (F., Hargreaves, Chhabra).
1668, Phulārā grant of Bāz Bahādur Chand (F.).
1683, Ghatotkacha (Champāvat) grant of Udyot Chand (F.).
1690, Jageśvar grants of Udyot Chand (Hargreaves, Chhabra).
1691, Pinnāth grant of Udyot Chand (F., Atk.).
1707, Bungātalā grant of Kalyān Chand (F.).
1710, Tyārkuḍā grant of Jagat Chand (F.).
1717, Champāvat Nāgnāth Temple inscription of Jagat Chand (Hargreaves).
1732, Bungātalā grant of Kalyān Chand (F.).
1733, Balīśvar (Champāvat) grant of Kalyān Chand (F.) (or 1433).
1733, Almora grant of Kalyān Chand (Nitya Nand Miśra).
1796, Balīśvar (Champāvat) inscription of Thāpa Mahāvīra (Hargreaves).
1805 (Cp. 1505).
1822, Dwārahāt Badrināth inscription: erection of Vishnu Temple by Mānasī, wife of Nārāyana.

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Tribal Affiliation and the Home of the Sātavāhanas

BY

PROFESSOR GURTY VENKET RAO,
Andhra University

During the last six decades there has been acute controversy among the modern scholars about the origin of the Sātavāhanas and their homelands. Inscriptions found in the caves of Nānāghāṭ and Nāsik in the Western Dekkan mention the names of a few kings of 'Sātavāhana-*kula*.' These names as well as their order of succession are mostly in agreement with those of the Purāṇic genealogies of the kings of 'Āndhra *Jāti*'. Some Purāṇas style them as Āndhra-bhṛtyas. Hence on the basis of common names of the kings in the two sources some scholars identified the Sātavāhanas of the epigraphical records with the Āndhras of the Purāṇas; others strongly objected to this identification because in no inscription or coin the Sātavāhanas are called Āndhras and similarly in no Purāṇa the Āndhras are mentioned as Sātavāhanas.[1]

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,[2] the earliest writer on the subject, "the Āndhrabhṛitya dynasty of the Purāṇas is the same as the Śātavāhana dynasty of the inscriptions." He explained the term 'Āndhrabhṛitya' as Āndhras *who were once servants* or dependents. They came to power under the leadership of Simuka who uprooted the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas in B.C. 73. In his opinion Dhānyakaṭaka (near modern Dharanikoṭā in Guntūr District) was their eastern capital. Dr. J. Burgess[3] wrote in 1887 "the Śātavāhanas or Āndhras held sway for about four centuries from the second century B.C., till the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D.....their conquests extended far to the north and to the western coast..... Their first capital is said to have been on the Kṛishṇā at Śrīkākulam about 19 miles west of Masulipatam, and founded accord-

1. For inscriptions see ASWI, V; EI, VIII; for coins see CIC; and for Purāṇas, see DKA.

2. EHD. His date is, however, not tenable. See my article in the Jr. Ind. History, XXVII, Dec., 1949, p. 243.

3. BSAJ, pp. 3-4.

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ing to legend by Sumati, a great emperor; by whom is probably meant Simuka the first of the dynasty. It was afterwards transferred to Dhānyakaṭaka or Dharaṇikoṭa, and thence to other places." According to Dr. V. A. Smith,[4] the Āndhra community in the days of Megasthenes occupied the delta of Godāvari and Kṛṣṇā rivers and possessed a military force second only to that of the Mauryas; the capital of the state "is believed to have been then Śrī-kākulam", on the lower course of the Kṛṣṇā; in the days of Aśoka, their Rājā appears to have been in some measure subordinate to him; and soon after the close of the reign of that great emperor or possibly even before its close, they asserted their independence about 240 B.C. or 230 B.C. under a king named Simuka, and within a short period their authority spread as far west as Nāsik. Smith also says "the Āndhra kings all claimed to belong to the Śātavāhana family and many of them assumed the title or bore the name Satakarni." Prof. E. J. Rapson[5] is of the same opinion as Dr. Smith; he adds, however, that at the time of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's incursion into Vidarbha the Āndhras had "extended across the Deccan from the eastern coast." Dr. L. D. Barnett[6] states that their earliest capital was Śrī-kākulam, then Dhānyakaṭaka and finally in the first century A.D. it was the centre of their western provinces at Pratiṣṭhāna.

Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar[7] while accepting the Āndhra-Sātavāhana identity treated the theory of an eastern origin of the Śātavāhana power in the Āndhradesa as misconceived. He put forth arguments to show that the Āndhras were a Vindhyan tribe, their kings originally ruled over western India, spoke Prākṛt and not Telugu, and the extension of their authority was from the *west to the east* down the Godāvari-Kṛṣṇā valley. When their power declined in the west, the name Āndhramaṇḍalam travelled to their eastern districts and stuck to them.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar[8] questioned the very basis of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana identity. His main arguments are (i) No where in their records the Sātavāhanas are called Āndhras, (ii) other contemporary or nearly contemporary records, as the Hāthi-Gumphā, Girnār and Talagunda inscriptions, also refer to them as Sātavāhanas and never as Āndhras, (ii) Khāravela says that he "without

4. EHI, pp. 217-219; *Oxford History of India*, p. 119.
5. CHI, Vol. I, p. 519.
6. *Ibid.* p. 599.
7. IA, XLII, p. 276 ff.
8. ABI, Vol. I, p. 21 ff.

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entertaining any fear of Sātakarṇi sent a large army *to the west.*" If the Sātakarṇi had been the ruler of the Āndhras, Khāravela's army should have been sent to the south, (iv) all their early inscriptions and coins were discovered in western India. They had undoubtedly overrun and conquered the Āndhra country; but their earliest possessions were, as revealed by Archaeological discoveries, in western India. The terms 'Sātavāhanihāra' and 'Sātāhani raṭṭha' occurring in the Myākadoni inscriptions and Hīrahaḍagalli plates, were considered by Sukthankar as sufficient pointers to the solution of the problem. Myākadoni and Hīrahaḍagalli being in the modern Bellāry District, he suggested that this region or round about it should be taken as the original habitat of the Sātavāhanas. He drew support to his theory on the analogy that at one time it was common practice to name the country after its early inhabitants. Sātavāhanihāra was so named. His whole theme is that the Sātavāhanas did not belong to the Āndhra area, as the field of their early activity was confined to the west of India, and Paiṭhan was their capital. If the Purāṇic statement be literally correct implying that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras, he had two suggestions to make: either that the Sātavāhanas separated themselves 'from the main stock of the Āndhras' of the Godāvari and Kṛṣṇā deltas even before the time of Simuka (the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty) and settled in the west: or that the Āndhras themselves at first occupied Sātavāhani-hāra and then migrated from that centre towards the west and towards the east. But in his view the Sātavāhanas 'may not have been Āndhras'. Their connection with the Āndhra-deśa was according to him, the result of a migration from the *west to the east.* He further argued that "some of the Purānas call these kings Āndhras; others call them Āndhrabhṛtyas; and there are others still that call them by both names." In his opinion the correct designation of this dynasty is really Āndhrabhṛtya, a *tatpuruṣa,* meaning "the feudataries of Āndhras". The feudatories of the Āndhras need not necessarily be Āndhras.

Mr. K. P. Jayasval[9] also denied the Āndhra-Sātavāhana equation. He regarded the Sātavāhanas as probable representatives of the Sātiyaputras of Aśoka's records, their oldest coins being struck in the name of Sāta. Only thus indirectly he supported the non-Āndhra origin of the Sātavāhanas.

Prof. Raychaudhari[10] appears to subscribe to the views of Dr. Sukthankar but adds "the name Āndhra probably came to

9. JBORS, III, p. 442, note.
10. PHAI, 3rd Edition, p. 280.

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be applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became purely Āndhra power governing the territory at the mouths of the river Krishṇā."

Mr. V. S. Bakhle[11] is inclined to identify the Sātavāhanas with the Sātiyaputras. He enumerates more or less the same arguments as advanced by Dr. Sukthankar and says "to assert that the Sātavāhanas came from the Āndhradeśa is going further than warranted by evidence." He, however, does not accept Dr. Sukthankar's identification of the original home of the Sātavāhanas with Sātavāhani-hāra in Bellāry District, which they "made their home in later times." He emphatically declares that Sātavāhanas were not Āndhras. Why the Sātavāhana kings of the epigraphical records are treated as Āndhras by the Purāṇas is explained by this critic thus: "The Purāṇas were written only after the third century A.D., when the Sātavāhanas, driven out western India by the powerful force of the Kshatrapas, had migrated to the Āndhradeśa..... That explains their mention of these kings as Āndhras." Dr. K. Gopalachari,[12] like the above two scholars, maintains that the centre of gravity of the early Sātavāhana power lay in the western Dekkan, that the early Sātavāhanas did not rule over the Āndhradeśa and that the first authentic Sātavāhana records begin to appear in the Andhradeśa only with the reign of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi; but unlike them he asserts that they were Āndhras by tribal connection. He suggests that either they were the scions of the royal family in the Āndhradeśa or Āndhra fortune-hunters who accepted service in the western Dekkan under the Mauryan suzerains, thereby getting the Purāṇic appellation Āndhrabhṛtya, and that after Aśoka's death, their descendants might have struck a blow in their own interests in the land of their adoption. But he himself finally characterises this suggestion as a conjecture in favour of which 'at present we have no evidence.'

Amidst this medley of conflicting theories and contradictory opinions one has to move warily to arrive at answers to two questions: (1) were the Sātavāhanas Āndhras? or were they called Āndhras by the Purāṇic writers simply because they were found ruling in Āndhra at the time of the compilation of their works? and (2) where did they start their political career?

It is true that no inscription or coin calls the Sātavāhanas Āndhras. But it should be clearly borne in mind that in those

11. JBBRAS. (New series), Vol. III, p. 44 ff.
12. EHAC, pp. 15-16, 26-27.

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days the custom was merely to note the family name in inscriptions, as is demonstrated by the records of the Śālaṅkāyanas, Bṛhatphalāyanas, Viṣṇukuṇḍins, Pallavas, Gaṅgas, Kadambas, Cāḷukyas, Vākāṭakas, etc. None of these dynasties made any reference to their community, tribe or race. The same has been the case with regard to the records mentioning Nahapāṇa and Rudradāman. The former is called a Khakharāṭa (Kṣaharāṭa) and the latter a Karddamaka. This custom had such a strong grip that the inscriptions of even the last few Sātavāhana princes discovered in the Āndhra area do not call them Āndhras although their rule was confined only to the Āndhra districts. When the Purāṇas call them Āndhras, it can be reasonably assumed that they gave only the community or tribal (*Jāti*) name of kings, who actually belonged to the family (*kula*) of the Sātavāhanas.

The term 'Āndhrabhṛtya' does not militate against this assumption, when, as interpreted by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, it means Āndhras who were servants. Dr. Sukthankar's interpretation of the term creates unnecessary difficulties; if the Sātavāhanas were not Āndhras but *their* servants and if at the time of their rise the Āndhras were "powerful potentates in the Deccan", it is inexplicable how no vestige of the power of the latter is to be found in the contemporary records—literary, epigraphic and numismatic. Since the self same kings are termed by the Purāṇas as both "Āndrabhṛtyah", and "Āndhra-*Jātīyah*" it must be that the terms were interchangeable. These kings were Āndhras by community and at the same time acquired power as servants of some other sovereign. The Purāṇic testimony should not be lightly dismissed. The mention of Sri-yajña as the reigning prince found in three independent manuscripts of Matsya Purāṇa takes the date of its compilation well into the second century A.D. Moreover the earliest Purāṇa, the *Bhaviṣya*, from which the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu* derived their account, stops with the fall of the Āndhras and the rise of "their servants".[13] Thus so near were the compilers of *Matsya* and *Bhaviṣya* in point of time to the Sātavāhana kings that they could not have in their ignorance foisted the name of Āndhra on the Sātavāhana princes simply because they found or knew them only as rulers of Āndhra. The fact is that the *Paurāṇikas* were dealing with them in the larger context of their tribal or communal affinity. Thus it looks most likely that the Sātavāhanas were of the Āndhra community.

13. EHAC, pp. 22-23.

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Much has been made of the language of the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas to deny their connection with the Āndhras. The form of Prākṛt they used is likened to 'some kind of Proto-Mahārāshṭri, with no affinity with the Telugu, the language of the Āndhradeśa.'[14] It is implied in this that Prākṛt was the mother tongue of the Sātavāhanas, which is far from true of the Āndhras. But as has been ably pointed out by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma,[15] it is not true that the language of the inscriptions was necessarily the language of the country where these Sātavāhanas had their home, nor was it that this was introduced into the Āndhra country by the successors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. For the much earlier Bhaṭṭiprolu, Ghanṭasāla and Amarāvati inscriptions in the Āndhra area are indited in Prākṛt. Indeed Prākṛt was the language of the inscriptions not only of the Sātavāhanas but of all the other ruling families of India, with very few exceptions, from 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. It was the language of the court and of the cultured. It was the sacred medium of religious literature and preachings. The teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīra were the rage of the times and the Pāli they employed for the purpose was only the earlier form of Prākṛt written and spoken in those days. As Sanskṛt was to the Vedic age, so was Prākṛt to this epoch. Whatever had any touch of religion or culture about it came to be expressed in Prākṛt. The Sātavāhana and other records of the times registered gifts to Śramaṇas and institutions, Buddhist or Jain. Hence the employment of Prākṛt in Sātavāhana records. The celebration of Vedic sacrifices by Śrī Sātakarṇi (II) does not affect the argument in the least. For sometime later when Sanskṛt was restored to its former eminence Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, the first and greatest Telugu poet, wrote his Telugu grammar in Sanskṛt. Therefore, it cannot be said positively that the language of the Sātavāhanas was "Proto-Mahārashṭri". The Prākṛt of their inscriptions does in no way militate against Sātavāhana-Āndhra identity.

Assuming now that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras, the area of their early political activity can be ascertained only after correct location of the habitat of the Āndhras in the earliest historical times. Whatever be the difference of opinion regarding Āndhra-Sātavāhana affiliation, almost all the scholars are agreed that the home of the Āndhras then, as in later times, was the Telugu country, on the eastern side of India between the rivers Godāvari and Kṛṣṇā. As the Coḷas and Paṇḍyas appear to have from time im-

14. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar — IA, XLII, p. 278.
15. *BHARATI, Prabhaya, Vaiśākh*, pp. 96-99.

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memorial occupied approximately the same geographical positions in which they are found at the dawn of history, it is very likely that the Āndhras have done the same. Buddhist literature of an earlier period locates the Āndhra country south of Telivāhana, a tributary of Mahānadi. The Āndhras existed as a great power in the days of Candragupta with considerable military force and "thirty walled towns". These walled towns might have been held by a number of Āndhra chieftains. In Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII they appear to have nominally accepted his suzerainty. They are classed together with other semi-independent peoples of the Dekkan. Of them, since the Bhojas are located in the Western Dekkan, the Āndhras with their thirty walled towns must have been in the Central and eastern Dekkan. On the whole, as suggested by D. R. Bhandarkar[16] the land of the Āndhras must have been at this early period comprised of some parts of Central Provinces, and Vizagapatam district, and may have also included the Godāvari and Kṛṣṇā districts. Thus there is no question of the eastern Dekkan being called Āndhra after its conquest by the Sātavāhanas. Āndhradeśa existed where it is to-day even before the name of the Sātavāhaṇas came into prominence.[17]

Whether the Sātavāhanas started their political career in the Āndhradeśa proper or outside it is another difficult problem. That they came to power from the Āndhradeśa is held to be unwarranted mainly on four grounds: (1) their earliest records, epigraphic and numismatic, have been discovered at Nānāghāṭ and Nāsik in the western Dekkan; (2) in Khāravela's inscription, the dominions of the contemporary Sātakarṇi are indicated west of Khāravela's own kingdom of Kaliṅga. (3) Gotamī Balaśrī's inscription recounting the territorial possessions of her son, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, makes no mention of any locality in the Āndhra area; and the first available Sātavāhana records begin to appear in Āndhradeśa only with the reign of his successor Vāśiṣṭhiputra Śrī Puḷumāvi.

But these arguments are based upon inadequate appreciation of the available records. If the discovery of records is to be taken as the *only* criterion for determining territorial possessions of a power then the early Sātavāhanas will lose title even to the central and southern Dekkan. It is true that their earliest records have been found in the western Dekkan; but they are only two in number, for twenty predicessors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Apart

16. *AŚOKA* (2nd edition), pp. 35-36.
17. Dr. K. R. Subramanian: BRA, pp. 8-10.

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from this the inference drawn from them is not quite independent. It is born of preconcieved notion that the Sātavāhanas had nothing to do with Āndhradeśa, till the reign of Puḷumāvi. It is forgotten that the earliest great Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi (II) of Nānāghāt record who performed two *Aśvamedha,* one *Rājasūya* and other sacrifices bore the title "*Dakṣiṇāpathapati.*" The author of the *Periplus* distinguishes the market towns of 'Dachinabades' from those of 'Limyrika' i.e., the Tamil lands. In this context Dakṣiṇāpatha whether mentioned in inscription or noticed by the Greek writer, appears to cover the whole of the Dekkan in contrast to the Tamil lands of the south. If it is conceded that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras, and they were masters of the Dekkan, then the sentence 'heedless of Sātakarṇī, he sent his forces to the west' in Khāravela's inscription does not mean that Sātakarṇi's dominions were confined *only* to the west of Kaliṅga and had no connection with the Āndhra area. That the earlier Sātavāhana rulers had hold over the latter is proved by one of the *Gathas* in Hala's *Sattasai,* which states that there was no Royal house equal in prowess and nobility to that of the Sātavāhanas in all the country wherein the Godāvari rises, flows and falls into the sea. Another Prākṛt work, *Līlāvatīpariṇiya,* contains a tradition of Hala's marriage on the banks of Saptagodāvari, identified with the tank at Dākṣārām in East Godāvari District.[18] According to Suttanipata, Andhakaraṭṭha was on the bank of the Godāvari and Assaka and Mūlaka (var. Aḷoka) were two Āndhra principalities. Gotami Balaśrī's inscription cannot be said to have completely ignored the Āndhra area: it refers to Siritana, Mahendra 'Assaka', and Mūlaka within her son's dominions. The first is the Śrīśaila hill in the Kurnool district; the second refers to the Eastern Ghāṭs; and Assaka, even according to Bakhle, comprised the south-east province of the Nizām's dominion and the Godāvari district. The same record also notices that her son restored the glory of the Sātavāhanas by uprooting the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. Surely it cannot be maintained that the Śakas were masters of the area comprising Siritana, Mahendra and 'Assaka'. More probable sequence of events would be that the Sātavāhanas were masters of both Āndhra and Mahārāṣtra since at least the down fall of the Mauryan Empire. When Nahapāṇa ousted them from the west-coast they retained their hold over the rest of the empire including Āndhara. When Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi put an end to the alien rule, the Sātavāhana power was restored over the entire Dekkan. It is this event which enabled his son Puḷumāvi to *resume* the title of

18. Cited by Prabhakara Sastri — JAHRS, IV, pp. 29-30.

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(*Dakṣiṇā*) *patheśvara* which is reminiscent of the title of the earlier Sātavāhana ruler Sātakarṇi (II) of the Nānāghāṭ record. When the Sātavāhanas were finally driven out of Mahārāṣṭra by Rudradāman they naturally retired to their homelands in the Āndhra area.

As regards their capitals, Śrīkākulam cannot stand scrutiny, since it is based upon unreliable and much later legend.[19] Dhānyakaṭaka (Dharanikoṭa in Guntūr District) appears to be one of the early strongholds of Āndhra power. It might have been one of their 'thirty walled towns mentioned by Megasthenes'. When Mahārāṣṭra also became part of the Āndhra empire, Paiṭhan became the seat of Sātavāhana government in the west. It is significant that in one of the inscriptions, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is called "Lord of Dhanakaṭa"[20] — a reminiscence of his early position before his victory over the Khakharātas — and it is only his son Puḷumāvi, who inherited the conquests of his father, resumed the title of 'the lord of the Dekkan.'

The events leading to the occupation of Mahārāṣṭra and the establishment of government at Paiṭhan by the Sātavāhanas are entirely shrouded in mystery. The Purāṇic epithet "Āndhrabhṛtya" for them perhaps offers a clue to the riddle. The term, as pointed out before, means Āndhras who were servants. In Aṣoka's Rock Edict XIII Āndhras figure in somewhat subordinate position. From such a position it was easy to assert themselves after the death of Aśoka, and build up a state more extensive and powerful than what it had been in the days of the first Mauryan Emperor and Megasthenes. The growing menace of the foreigners, specially that of the Greeks, might have necessitated the fixing of their headquarters at Paiṭhan.

19. IA, XLII, p. 276.

20. Nasik No. 3 in EI, VIII, p. 65 contains, the term *Dhanakaṭasamanehi*. Its equation with *Dhanakaṭasramanehi* is out of question for reasons given by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (see EHD, 3rd edition, p. 30, note 13; I.A. 1918). M. Senart suggested Benakaṭa as an alternative reading for Dhanakaṭ 'considering the general similarity of *b* and *dh*'. But he himself was not prepared to pit his suggestion 'against those who worked from the stone itself'. Hence Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's equation of *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* with *Dhanakaṭa-sāminehi* i.e., 'lord of Dhanakata' stands. Dhanakaṭa = Dhanakaṭaka = Dhānyakaṭaka.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABI — Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute.
ASWI — Archaeological Servey of Western India.
BRA — Buddhist Remains in Andhra etc.
BSAJ — Buddhist Stupas in Amaravati and Jagayapeta.
CHI — Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
CIC — Catalogue of the Indian Coins.
DKA — Dynasties of the Kali Age, by Pargiter.
EHAC — Early History of the Andhra Country.
EHD — Early History of the Dekkan, 3rd ed.
EHI — Early History of India, 4th ed.
EI — Epigraphia Indica.
IA — Indian Antiquary.
JAHRS — Jr. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.
JBBRAS — Jr. Bom. Br. of the Royal Asiatic Soc.
JBORS — Jr. Behar and Orissa Res. Soc.
PHAI — Political Hist. of Ancient India, 3rd ed.

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Ājnyāpatra Re-examined *

BY

Dr. V. D. Rao, M.A., Ph.D., LL.B.

Professor of History, Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay 19.

Until recently the study of the Maratha history was sadly neglected. No doubt the publication of original documents pertaining to the Maratha history, in the second half of the 19th century has greatly helped to throw substantial light on and give a fairly comprehensive picture of the rise, growth and fall of the Maratha Empire. But on the social, economic and administrative conditions obtaining during this period, not much detailed and coordinated information is available; for although quite a number of Bakhars, Sanads, awards and a large volume of correspondence brought to light through the zeal and industry of different scholars give detailed information about the political history of Marathas, very few documents bearing on the socio-political and administrative aspects of the period are available. An impression seems to have prevailed that the Maratha rulers were mere soldiers of fortune devoid of any sense of or aptitude for socio-political organisation. The injustice of this judgment on the Maratha rulers will be seen if the Maratha history is studied and interpreted in a true perspective.

Among the few documents giving information about the principles and practice of statecraft and governance of the Marathas, the most noteworthy is *Ājnyāpatra* (Royal Edict) or *Rājneeti* (Manual of Administration) commonly attributed to Ramchandra Pant Amātya. *Rājneeti* by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis is another notable treatise of the subject of statecraft written during the Maratha period (A.D. 1810). This latter work is merely a theoretical treatise taking for its model old Sanskrit works like *Sukraneeti*, while the chief merit of *Ājnyāpatra* is that it records the personal observations and experiences of the author who gives not only theoretical concepts and abstract ideas but a practical exposition of the principles of the organisation and governance of the Maratha State, based on tradition, expediency and utility,

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having due regard to the forces and circumstances influencing and moulding the destinies of the Maratha State. Coming from the pen of one who had served his apprenticeship in statecraft under no less a personage than the great Shivaji, one who had actively participated in the affairs of the Maratha State right from the time it came into being for a long period of nearly fifty years, witnessing numerous vicissitudes, one who had played a prominent part in preventing the premature extinction of the Maratha rule, every line of the work is pregnant with political wisdom and sagacity, inherited from the illustrious father of the Maratha Empire. It may be truly said that the *Ājnyāpatra* is the quintessence of the political wisdom of Shivaji.

This work is of particular interest and value to the student of the state policy and administration of the Marathas, for it is not a mere adaptation of the principles of statecraft enunciated by old authors but it presents a splendid adjustment of the traditional political philosophy to the achievements, needs and problems of the Marathas of the time, crystallising into a beautiful practical philosophy of State organisation and administration. Mr. B. K. Sarkar has rightly said that "the *Rājneeti* is often a philosophical explanation of political history."[1]

Mr. Y. G. Kanetkar has made the following observation about this work: "The work contains valuable information based on practical experience in politics and diplomacy of those days, but unfortunately it is incomplete."[2] No doubt, this small work does not deal with all aspects of political philosophy and science. It does not claim to be a comprehensive treatise or guide on the subject. It is designed to serve as a practical guide for the instruction of the Maratha Princes in the organisation and administration of the State into the tradition of Shivaji. All the salient features of the Administration and State policy of particular import to the rulers of the Maratha kingdom are given a place in this work. It contains discussion of all the traditional aspects of sovereignty recognised by Kautilya and other Sanskrit authors; such as, the King, the Minister, the Country, the Fort, the Treasury, the Army and the Friend.[3] I cannot, therefore, bring myself to share the view that this work is incomplete.

1. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, p. 93.
2. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XV, p. 255.
3. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* Book VI, Ch. 1, (Tr. Dr. R. Sham Shastry, p. 287-89.

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In point of language and style, this work possesses outstanding merit which makes it a beautiful specimen of Marathi literature. Rightly has it been said, that this is a unique ornament adorning the Marathi language and Marathi political literature. It would be no exaggeration to say that in point of language and information there is no work to equal this in Marathi political literature.[4]

An attempt is made here to examine and discuss this work in all its aspects.

I. Manuscripts

Unfortunately the original manuscript of *Ājnyāpatra* is nowhere traceable and is presumed to be lost. I made extensive inquiries regarding the manuscript of the work and came across three old manuscripts, all of which are copies only. Two of these are at the Rājwāde Sanshodhan Mandir, Dhulia (Dt. West Khandesh, Bombay State) and the third at the Samartha Vagdevata Mandir at the same place.

1. *Rajwade S. Mandir Copy No. 1*: This is the oldest copy available. It is beautifully written in Modi script and contains thirty-two pages of the size 16″ × 6½″ written on one side only. It begins thus:

Shree Manmahāganādhipataye Namah
Shree Mahā Sarswatyai Namah
Shree Sāmbparabramhane Namo Namah
Shree Mhālasākānt Malhāri Mārthandāya Namah

and ends thus:

Lekhanālankār Shake 1722 Raudra Nāma Samvatsara, Pausha Vadya 4, Chaturthi, Ravi Wāri Lekhana Samāpta (i.e. writing completed on Sunday, the 4th day of the dark half of Pausha in Shaka Era 1722, Samvatsara Raudra — the corresponding English date being 4th January 1801).

This is a complete copy but it does not mention the name of the person who made it.

2. *Rajwade S. Mandir Copy No. 2*: This is an incomplete copy and a few pages at the beginning and end are missing. It is also written in Modi script, but the handwriting is not very legible. It contains fifty-two pages (numbered 2 to 53) of the size 18″ × 5¼″ written on both sides.

4. MM Prof. D. V. Potdar: *Purushārtha Shivaji Volume*, p. 245.

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3. *Samartha Vagdevatā Mandir Copy*: This is Exhibit No. 1807 in the manuscript collections of this Institution. It contains eighty-four pages (42 folios) of the size $8{\cdot}4'' \times 6{\cdot}1''$. This is written in a very good hand in the Devnāgari script and has a cover page with the following inscription written in Modi script:

Nārāyan Shārangpānee Yās Bakshisa Milāle. Kāmpdeel Sāheb Yāni Dile Ase. Sahi Hastākshara Tātyā Āmbekar (Awarded to Narayan Sharagpanee by Kampdeel saheb. Hand writing of Tatya Ambekar.)

A number of corrections seem to have been made in the style of proof correction. It begins thus:

Shree Manmahāganādhipataye Namah
Atha Neeti Shāstra Prārambhah

This is comparatively a later copy the date of copying, being Tuesday, the 7th November 1843, as mentioned in the following concluding lines:

Shālivāhan Shake 1765, Shobhakrinnam Samvatsare, Kārtika Shuddha 15, Induvāsare (?) Sampoornam. Hee Neeti Huzur Lihivili ase Rāja shaka 169 (?) San Arba Arbain Mayātain Vā Ālaf Māhe Shāval Chandra 14 Prahara Dusarā.[5] Completed on Monday (?) the 15th day of the bright half of Kārtika of Shālivahan Era 1765, Samvatsara Shubhakrit. This political treatise is written (copied) at the behest of the Master, Coronation Era 169 (?) 14th Moon of the month of Shaval in the year 1244 of the Suhur Era, Second part of the day. (Tuesday 7th November 1843).

Professor Urdhvareshe mentions[6] that a copy of *Ājnyāpatra* written in a beautiful Modi hand was made available to him by the late Mr. Trimbakrao Gogate, from the Indore State Records. He further mentions that a letter attached to this copy contained the following remark: "This copy was specially brought from Poona for presentation to His Highness." He writes that he compared this copy with the text of the *Ājnyāpatra* published in *Vividha Jnyāna Vistār* in 1890-91 and found the two to be exactly similar.

I made inquiries regarding this copy with Sardar Kibe of Indore who informed me that no such copy was found in the State Records of Indore.

5. From the tables in the Comparative Calendars it is seen that the day is Tuesday and not Monday and the Raj Shaka 170 and not 169.

6. *Ājnyāpatra*: Edited by Prof. Vaman Gopal Urdhvareshe, Holkar College, Indore, (1939) Introduction, pp. 1-2.

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II. Publication

The credit of bringing to light this valuable work goes to the Marathi journal, *Vividha Jnyāna Vistāra* which published it in instalments in the years 1875-76. The same journal republished the work fifteen years later (1890-91). The publication on both these occasions was without any commentary or explanatory notes. The work was first published in a book form by the said journal in September 1926 with brief introductory notes by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Sane, Riyasatkar G. S. Sardesai and Professor D. V. Potdar. The original manuscript from which the work was reproduced in *Vividha Jnyān Vistāra* is not traceable. A presumption may be drawn from this circumstance that the reproduction was from the original manuscript secured probably from the Bavada records, which was subsequently lost or mislaid, proper care not having been taken for its preservation.

Professor V. G. Urdhvareshe of Indore brought out an edition of *Ājnyāpatra* in 1919 with a commentary and explanatory notes and a foreword by Sardar N. V. Kibe. Yet another edition of this work was published by *Veenā Prakāshan* of Nagpur with an introduction by Principal S. L. Pandharipānde in 1939. In this edition is included an article by Professor V. B. Kolte, entitled "*Rājneeti Amātyānchi Kashi*" originally contributed to the *Sardesai Smarak Grantha.*

An English translation of *Ājnyāpatra* by Professor S. V. Puntambekar (now Dr. Raghavendra Rao Professor of Politics, University of Nagpur) was published in the Journal of Indian History, Volume VIII, Parts I and II in 1929 under the caption "A Royal Edict on the Principles of State Policy and Organisation" with an introduction, full notes and references.

Ājnyāpatra is incorporated in the *Bāvada Daftar,* Part I. The Editor, Mr. G. K. Sabnis, admits that no copy of this work was found in the Bāvada archives. He does not mention the source from which *Ājnyāpatra* was reproduced in the Bāvada Daftar.

III. Contents

Ājnyāpatra consists of nine chapters, first two of which, are of an introductory nature, while the remaining seven deal specifically with matters relating to the administration and organisation of State, laying down the rules and standards to be followed. A brief and critical summary and analysis of the contents of this work is given below.

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Chapter I: At the time of the accession of *Sambhaji* (II of Kolhapur) to the throne, the morale of the servants of the State was completely broken down on account of the calamity that had befallen the Maratha kingdom. The invasion of Aurangzeb, though ending in a failure, had left the Maratha kingdom in a state of desolation and disruption. He dealt with the disorganised state of affairs and succeeded in restoring the morale of the servants of the State and inspiring a sense of confidence and security in the hearts of his subjects.[7]

The exploits and achievements of Shivaji are recalled mentioning how he built up a vast empire extending from Salheri — Ahiwant (Northern Konkan) to Chanji (Jinji near Madras) and the banks of the Kaveri River, how he dealt with the various enemies of the Maratha State, external as well as internal. The admirable strategy of Shivaji in dealing with his enemies is graphically described in the following words: "Though they (enemies) were all brave, ready to fight and fully equipped, he by force of his own intellect and ability and without being afraid of any one, subdued some by marching against them and fighting fierce battles with them. Upon some he made sudden attacks. Amongst some fomented mutual quarrels. Between some he caused breaches of friendship. By entering the tents of some he fought with them. By personal venture he defeated some in single combats. With some he made alliances. Of his own accord he went to visit some. Some he forced to come and visit him. He imperilled (the lives of) some by creating mutual disunion. Others he conquered one after another by making other kinds of efforts without their knowledge and by erecting forcibly fortified places in their country. He defeated those who were possessed of sea-forts by erecting new sea-forts. He entered inaccessible places from the sea. In this manner he subdued every enemy in the way in which he should be conquered..."[8]

Having ascended the throne Shivaji established Dharma, law and order throughout the kingdom.

Chapter II: This deals mainly with the work and policy of Rajaram. After the death of Shivaji, the Maratha Empire, owing to continuous warfare, had fallen in a bad state and practically all the country and forts were captured by the enemy. The task

7. All this was in fact achieved by Rajaram.

8. This and subsequent English translations are from Prof. Puntambekar's English edition of the *Ājnyāpatra* (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VIII, Parts I and II).

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of restoring the Maratha kingdom to its former glory and order fell on the shoulders of Rajaram who discharged it splendidly by making the administration strong and efficient, organising and equipping and reinforcing properly the royal troops, cavalry, infantry and artillery, building and repairing forts and defeating the enemies of the State. After recapturing the lost territories, he made further conquests and re-established the Maratha empire stretching from Narmada to Rameshwar.

Chapter III: This chapter describes the general principles of State policy, organisation and administration. At the very outset, the divine origin of the Maratha State and Kingship is pointed out in these words: "The whole world is created by God. He first created kings in this world. Amongst the people every individual is one, but temperaments differ. Therefore, if they have no protection, who would make for them common law. They would quarrel and fight with one another and be destroyed. This should not happen. All the people should follow the path of Dharma. Out of compassion for the people, God in his full favour has granted us this kingdom." The Maratha kingship is thus conceived to be a divine gift for the benefit and well being of the subjects. We find here a beautiful blending of the concepts underlying the 'Divine Origin' and 'Social Contract' theories of State. This Maratha concept of kingship has no room for divine rights of king; on the contrary, it regards kingship as a command of God and makes it the primary duty of king to be ready at all times to look after the welfare of the people. As Dharma, according to the Hindu idealogy, is the main instrument of human happiness and welfare, temporal and spiritual, the first duty enjoined on the king is to follow Dharma. The Dharma indicated here is the one which is 'traditionally the best and which his (king's) ancestors followed.' It should be noted that the word Dharma, used here and elsewhere in his work, does not connote mere religious dogma but it is used in a broad sense. The king should discountenance and punish heresay and protect the poor and the infirm.

The king should be very careful about his personal protection and for this purpose the household staff should be chosen with proper care and treated with due cordiality and consideration.

The king should fix up his daily routine and strictly adhere to it. He and the persons near him should eschew intoxicants. He should acquire knowledge and skill in all arms and should not neglect manly exercises. Skill in all arts and crafts should be necessarily acquired. Entertainments should be allowed rarely, on festive occasions only and the king should avoid participating in

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them personally. Deserving Court poets and bards should be maintained at the Court but kept aloof from State deliberations. Jesters should not be encouraged. The king should think and take decisions independently, but should consult worthy persons avoiding self-complacency. Great importance is attached to the finance of the State. "Finance is the life of State" and the king should see that his treasury is always full. Servants should be paid well and special merit in them should be appreciated by giving rewards.

One of the reasons why the later Maratha rulers (Peshwas) did not succeed in stabilising the Maratha Empire which they largely expanded and glorified by their spectacular campaigns and conquests, was their sad neglect of the salutary principles of State finance as laid down by Shivaji.

The king should take special care in the organisation and maintenance of Royal troops. He should keep a five-fold force of cavalry, foot soldiers, musketeers, archers and artillery men. Great care should be taken in recruiting the personnel of the Royal force. Strict discipline should be enforced and breach of discipline and disloyalty should be severely punished.

Education of young princess should be carefully attended to by employing as their tutors experts in various arts and sciences. A few good persons should always be kept near the princes to correct and guide them.

Chapter IV : This deals with Ministers of State.

The king being the representative of God to look after and ensure the well being of his subjects, his duties and functions are many and multifarious. He has, therefore, to appoint Ministers of State to conduct the affairs of State for him. The importance of Ministers is described and stressed in the following words : "Ministers are the pillars of the house whose name is kingdom. They are the chief means for the proper protection of the kingdom and also for creating a new one. A minister is one who spreads the king's power. A minister is the head charged with the duty of the protection of the people. A minister is a restraint on the sea of the king's intoxication. A minister is like the goad of elephant. Nay, a minister is the repose of the king in this world, because of his administration of State affairs, and a light for the next world on account of his protection of religion. Kings have no other relations or things higher than ministers ; of all the servants ministers should have the highest respect....the whole burden of the State

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should be placed on them." This describes vividly the role and position of ministers in the Maratha polity.

Only persons of good character and well versed in the affairs of State should be appointed as ministers. The king should treat his ministers with due respect. "All the burden of the State, the authority of territories and ports and administration should be entrusted to a minister, and the generals of the army should be made to depend on him." In these lines we find an enunciation of the modern theory of the subordination of the military to the civil authority.

A caution is uttered against concentrating power in the hands of one person only and it is advised that every one should be given different duties according to his ability.

Chapter V: The topic dealt with herein is the commercial policy of the State.

The importance of commercial prosperity of the State is stressed in the following terms: "Merchants are the ornaments of the kingdom and the glory of the king. They are the cause of the prosperity of the kingdom. All kinds of goods which are not available come into the kingdom. The kingdom becomes rich. In times of difficulties, whatever debt is necessary is available. With its help danger is averted." All possible facilities and inducements should be offered to the merchants to make them establish shops and factories at various centres. They should be duly respected and protected. Even foreign merchants should be given facilities for trade.

While dealing with foreign traders, the author has uttered the following prophetic warning against the European merchants: "Amongst the merchants, the Portuguese and the English and the Dutch and the French and the Danes and other hat-wearing merchants also do carry on trade and commerce. But they are not like other merchants. Their masters, every one of them, are ruling kings. By their orders and under their control, these people come to trade in these provinces. How can it happen that the rulers have no greed for territories? These hat-wearers have full ambition to enter into these provinces to increase their territories and to establish their own opinion (religion). Accordingly at various places they have already succeeded in their ambitious undertakings. Moreover this race of people is obstinate. Where a place has fallen into their hands, they will not give it up even at the cost of their lives. Their intercourse should therefore be restricted to the extent of only their coming and going (for trade). They should

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strictly never be given places to settle" Realising the naval strength of the Westerners, the author advises that they should be allowed to carry on their trading activities at places away from the sea-coast and mouths of creeks. How accurately were the territorial designs of the Europeans guaged by the author? Had the wise counsels uttered here been heeded and followed by the subsequent rulers, the history of Maharashtra, or for the matter of that, of India would have taken quite a different course.

Chapter VI: This deals with the policy towards Watandars who according to the author are 'small but independent chiefs of territories and really sharers in the kingdom' The disruptive and disintegrating force exerted by the Watandari system on the sovereignty of the State is forcefully described in the following lines: "All the time they (watandars) want to acquire new possessions, bit by bit, and to become strong; and after becoming strong, their ambition is to seize forcibly from some and to create enmities and depredations against others. Knowing that royal punishment will fall on them, they first take refuge with others, fortify their places with their help rob the travellers, loot the territories and fight desperately....When a foreign invasion comes, they make peace with the invaders, with a desire for gaining or protecting a Watan, meet personally the enemy, allow the enemy to enter the kingdom by divulging secrets of both sides and then, becoming harmful to the kingdom, get to be difficult to control. For this reason the control of these people has to be cleverly devised."

Confiscation of Watans is not advised; but the power of watandars over people should be done away with and they should be made amenable to the royal authority.

We know only too well that because the later Maratha rulers ignored this wise policy laid down by Shivaji, the inevitable uncontrolled growth of the parasites on the body of the Maratha State in the form of Watandars and Jagirdars gradually weakened the central authorily and led finally to the disruption and decay of the Maratha Empire.

Chapter VII: This deals with the policy regarding hereditary Vrittis (i.e. hereditary rights, offices, professional dues etc.) and Inams (i.e. hereditary estates).

Existing Vrittis should not be confiscated; but no new Vrittis should be given, as public revenue would thereby diminish. Decreas in public revenue leads to the decay of the kingdom. Similarly, it is a great injustice to give lands as Inams to servants or

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Vritti-holders for the purpose of achieving a task, as this leads to diminution of the territory of the State. The duty and responsibility of the king to maintain the territorial integrity of the State is described in the following lines: "A king, if he is an enemy of his kingdom, should be generous in granting lands. A king is called the protector of land for the sake of preserving the land, but if the land be given away, over what would he rule? Whose protector will he be?.....if grants of land were to be made to servants at the time when they do a work, then according to this, it would happen that the whole kingdom would be granted away.....Therefore, a king who wishes to rule a kingdom, to increase it and to acquire fame as one who is skilled in politics, should not at all get infatuated and grant land to the extent of even a barley corn." The territorial aspect of sovereignty is beautifully summed up here.

Gifts of land for the purpose of maintenance of Dharma should be made in proper cases.

Chapter VIII: The subject dealt with herein is Forts — their importance, organisation, administration and construction. The author does not give merely a theoretical exposition of this subject; he pours out into it his personal experience of a very long time. None could speak or write with greater authority on this subject than Ramchandra Pant Amātya who had studied and participated in the administration of forts under Shivaji, and who had played a leading role in the Maratha War of Independence, in which the Marathas could ultimately hold their own against their mighty Mogul foe, mainly on account of their adoption of the peculiar military strategy in which forts played a very important part.

The author regards forts as the very essence of the whole kingdom. Without forts, new conquests could not be made or the kingdom could not be defended against invasions. Old forts must, therefore, be preserved and new ones built. The various officers of the fort, viz. Havildar, Sarnobat, Sabnis and Karkannis, as also other persons for service in the fort, should be appointed after careful selection. Officers should be transferred from one fort to another periodically. They should be treated with due respect and consideration but severely punished for the slightest delinquencies. Watandars occupying lands near a fort or inhabitants of the neighbourhood, should not be employed for service in that fort. An officer found to be disloyal should be publicly beheaded.

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A detailed description about the construction of forts — choice of cite, general layout, building of fortifications, gates, secret passages, water reservoirs, granneries, store-houses, powder magazines etc. — as also of the organisation of the defence of forts, with various types of armaments is given. Duties of the officers of the fort in times of peace and war, and policy in dealing with officers of forts in various circumstances are laid down. Ruthless handling of traitors and deserters is exhorted.

It is recommended that a department to look after the work of repair to forts etc. should be maintained at the fort. On account of the possibility of the isolation of forts for indefinite time during sieges, the township of each fort should be a self-sufficient unit consisting of learned Brahmins, physicians, surgeons, different kinds of artisans etc.

Chapter IX : Navy forms the subject matter of this chapter.

Importance of Navy is stressed by describing it as an independent limb of the State on which the mastery of the sea depends.

The Royal Navy should be composed of different types of medium sized ships grouped in separate units and equipped with efficient fighters and weapons. For the expenses of the navy, the revenue of a separate territory should be appointed. Harbours should be well protected. Trade should be encouraged as it causes the growth of the income of Customs. The naval force should check the enemy by always moving in the sea.

Merchant ships should be given protection. Foreign ships plying without permits should be seized, but dealt with in a conciliatory manner. An effort should be made to see that foreign merchants feel assured and attracted and enter into commercial intercourse with the kingdom. Merchant ships coming from hostile territories should be seized and dealt with according to the orders of the king.

Tactics to be followed in naval battles are described. The cardinal principle laid down is that safety of ships and sailors should never be risked.

Sheltering of ships should be done in proper time and only in fortified ports. The fleet should be distributed in various places. Night patrols by creek and land should be carried about the fleet.

It is significant to note that the author has fully appreciated and stressed the role of the navy in the commercial prosperity of the kingdom.

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IV. Authorship

Although the excellence and merit of this work is universally recognised, we have to tread on controversial grounds when we come to the question of its authorship. One school of historians believes Rāmchandra Pant Amātya to be the author of *Ājnyāpatra* while the other maintains that this *Rājneeti* was drafted by some one else and that Rāmchandra Pant was asked to act in accordance therewith. The controversy about the authorship of this book has arisen, because there is no mention of the name of the author in the body of the work itself, nor has any other direct and unequivocal evidence about the authorship of the book, external or internal, so far come to light. It is proposed to go into this problem in some detail, examining the various views about and arguments for and against the commonly accepted authorship of Rāmchandra Pant.

Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, the great exponent of Maratha History, accepts Rāmchandra Pant Amātya as the author of *Ājnyāpatra.* Referring to Pant Amātya, he says, "but his enduring and permanent memory is Ramchandra Pant, Amātya's work on *Rājneeti.*"[9] In a personal letter to me dated 23rd March, 1948, Rao Bahadur Sardesai has confirmed this opinion in the following words: "This *Ājnyāpatra* dated 1715 is written by Amātya in the name of Sambhājee, the son of Rajaram."

M. M. Professor D. V. Potdar has from the very first accepted Ramachandra Pant as the writer of, *Ājnyāpatra ;* in a personal letter to me he writes, "I still maintain that Rājaneeti is by Pant Amātya." The late Rao Bahadur K. N. Sane, in his introduction to the Vividha Jnyan Vistar edition of *Ājnyāpatra* has expressed his opinion in favour of Pant Amātya's authorship.

Sir Jadunath Sarker, in the 3rd edition of his works, *Shivaji and His Times,* refers to this work as "not a genuine document by a contemporary of Shivaji, throws no real light."[10] The said remark, however, does not find place in the 4th edition of the said work published about two years back.

Some years back, Professor S. N. Banhattee of Nagpur, read a paper on this subject before the Central Provinces Research Association at Nagpur. As this paper has not been published, I wrote to Professor Banhattee asking for a copy thereof. He wrote to

9. *Sardesai — Sthirabuddhi Rajaram,* p. 158.
10. *Sarkar — Shivaji and His Times,* 3rd Edition, p. 414.

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me in reply, that the paper was lost but that his firm conviction was that Rāmchandra Pant was not the author of *Ājnyāpatra.*

Professor V. B. Kolte gave a real impetus to the controversy about the authorship of *Ājnyāpatra.* In his article captioned "*Rajneeti Amātyanchi Kashi*"[11] contributed to the *Sardesai Smarak Grantha,* he has attempted by adducing various arguments to show that the *Rājneeti* was not the work of Rāmachandra Pant Amātya.

Personally, I believe that so long as there is no direct evidence available on the point of the authorship of *Ājnyāpatra,* there should be no difficulty in assuming on the strength of the internal and implied evidence that Rāmchandra Pant was the author of this treatise. Before expressing my own views and arguments in support of this thesis, I would like to examine and meet the arguments put forth by Professor Kolte against the authorship of Rāmchandra Pant.

(i) Professor Kolte, in the first instance, points out, that in the whole body of the work, Amatya's name is nowhere mentioned as the author; on the other hand, the work purports to be a Royal edict addressed to Rāmachandra Pant.

It is well known that the absence of the mention of the author's name in old book is not unusual. On the contrary, we come across a number of old Indian books which bear the names as writers, not of the actual authors, but of the scribes who copied them. Coming to the literature of the Maratha period, we find some of the Bakhars do not mention their authors' names, for instance, the Shedgaonkar Bakhar and the Ekyannavi Qulmi Bakhar. It is true that the document in question purports to be a Royal order addressed to Rāmchandra Pant enjoining him to act up to the tenets of political philosophy prescribed therein: but this is only a matter of form. Even in modern times in England, the king's speech is, in fact prepared by his Cabinet; as it is the king's speech, the orders and directions therein are addressed to the Cabinet itself and the assurances are given in the name of the king. Thus, looking to the administrative practice obtaining even today in a most constitutionally advanced country like England, the mere fact that *Ājnyāpatra* is addressed to Rāmchandra Pant need not be regarded as a circumstance incompatible with his authorship of the contents.

11. Professor V. B. Kolte: *Sardesai Smaraka Grantha,* pp. 65-70.

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(ii) The second contention raised by Professor Kolte is that there is no evidence in the Bāvda Records supporting the assumption of the authorship of *Ājnyāpatra* in Ramchandra Pant's favour. He cites in his support, Rao Bahadur Sardesai's observation, that there is not the least evidence in the Bāvada Records showing that the *Rājneeti* was compiled by Rāmchandra Pant and that neither the original document nor a copy thereof was found in the Bāvada Archives. In view of the fact that the Bāvada Archives do contain a large number of letters from the pen of Ramchandra Pant, it is really strange that an important document like the *Ājnyāpatra* should not find a place therein. In this connection, the inference drawn by Professor Shejwalkar[12] to the effect that the original of *Ājnyāpatra* from the Bāvada Records might have been handed over by somebody to the *Vividha Jnyana Vistar* in 1875 or earlier for publication and that it might have been lost in the press, appears to be plausible. The absence of the original or a copy of the *Ājnyāpatra* from the Bāvada Records, however, does not in any way disprove the authorship of Rāmchandra Pant. Even assuming, for the sake of argument, that the *Ājnyāpatra* was not written by Rāmchandra Pant, it should have been in the family papers, being an important document addressed to the founder of the Amātya family. In fact, the word *Rājneeti* frequently appears in the letters of Bhagawantrao, the son and successor of Rāmchandra Pant. He (Bhagawantrao) has quite often expressed regrets that the Marathas did not act up to the tenets embodied in the *Rājneeti*.[13] This clearly shows that the *Ājnyāpatra* formed part of the Bāvada Records during Bahgwantrao's time.

(iii) Rāmchandra Pant's authorship of *Rājneeti* is discredited on the ground of self-praise. We find glowing tributes paid to Rāmchandra Pant in the body of this work. Had Rāmchandra Pant been the author of this work, he would not, Professor Kolte argues, have indulged in self-praise. But when it is borne in mind that the *Ājnyāpatra,* though compiled by Rāmchandra Pant, was issued in the name of the King, it would not at all appear strange that the court titles and mention of the glorious record of the services of Rāmchandra Pant should find of a place in the work. All the epithets such as "*Samasta Rājyakārya Dhurandhar Vishwasanidhi*" lavished upon *Amātya* are in their proper setting as coming from the King. Even today when the king of England issues an order to his minister, the term Rt. Honourable is prefixed to the name of

12. Professor T. S. Shejwalkar: *Is Ajnyapatra of Ramchandra Pant Amatya Spurious?* — A Volume of Studies in Indology, p. 447.
13. P. D. XVI, 124, 127, 129, 131, 135, 137.

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the minister. We know these royal orders are not written by the king but are actually drafted by the minister himself.

Apart from the above justificatioin, self-praise in one's own work is commonly met with in the works of ancient as well as modern Indian authors.

The present argument of Professor Kolte has thus no real force in determining the authorship of this work.

(iv) The next point taken up by Professor Kolte is that while the *Ājnyāpatra* lays down an admonition against making presents of lands in very strict terms, Rāmchandra Pant has shown himself to be rather notorious for greed for securing presents of lands from his masters.[14] Taking the passages containing this admonition as his basis, Professor Kolte poses the question 'how can Rāmchandra Pant known to be avaricious of presents of lands be the same person who admonishes against parting with land, howsoever infinitessinal ?'

Professor Shejwalkar, while replying to the above argument observes :[15] "Deviation from the principle enunciated by one's self can prove that the person was morally weak ; but it does not disprove the authorship of the person enunciating the said principle."

More often than not, preachers and propounders of high moral or philosophical ideas are found to be lacking in the courage or willingness to follow them rigidly in their private lives. They may conceive, believe in and present to the world a certain idealogy or philosophy ; but in real life their actions and behaviour are influenced and formulated by the current code of morality and behaviour which falls too short of the ideal. Is it not known that Lord Bacon, the noted English moral philosopher, was in his private life sunk deep in moral turpitude ?

The *Rājneeti*, as already observed, gives an exposition of the administrative principles and policy of Shivaji. Prohibition against making gifts of land, being one of the cardinal principles on which Shivaji had founded his polity is naturally enough stressed vehemently in the present work. Even, most salutary principles have to be given up or modified to meet the exigencies of changing times and circumstances. After the death of Shivaji, when the Maratha kingdom was embroiled in the throes of a bloody war,

14. Bavada Daftar, Vol. I, Letters 52-64.
15. Shejwalkar, opp. cit., p. 449.

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Rajaram, the Maratha king, perceiving that the very life and existence of the Maratha State was at stake, had to make certain departures from the ethical and political codes laid down by his father. He was compelled by the force of circumstances to ignore the injunction of his father against granting Inams to keep satisfied the veteran Maratha fighters who stood by him through thick and thin. Once Inams came to be regarded as legitimate returns and rewards for special services rendered to the state, Rāmchandra Pant could not possibly resist the temptation to assert his own claim which, naturally enough, he must have considered to be greater than that of most others in view of the signal services rendered by him in the defence and preservation of the Maratha kingdom against heavy odds. Rāmchandra Pant's greed for presents may be attributed to yet another cause. During Rajaram's regime, Rāmchandra Pant had passed on the wrong side of forty. At such period of life and particularly in those days of stress and turmoil, one should not be judged too harshly for showing solicitude to make provisions for old age and for the younger generation. Did not Lloyd George who nearly for a quarter of a century declined the offer of peerage accept it almost on his death-bed, so that his son might inherit it ?

I have dealt above with the principal arguments advanced by Professor Kolte against Rāmchandra Pant Amātya's authorship of the *Ājnyāpatra*, and tried to show that they are quite refutable. I shall now proceed to state my own case in support of the claim that Rāmchandra Pant was the author of *Ājnyāpatra*. As the question of the authorship of the work has to be settled with the help of the internal and circumstantial evidence only, in the absence of any direct evidence, it would be profitable to cast a glance at the life sketch of Rāmchandra Pant.

Rāmchandra Pant Amātya was born in or about the year 1650 A.D. In consideration for the services rendered by his father Nilojee Sondeo to Shivaji in the naval campaign of Barsilore (Hasnoor)[16] Rāmchandra Pant was given in 1668 an appointment as the Treasury Officer (Sabnis) of the sea-fort of *Sindhu Durga*.[17] After his father's death in 1672, he was appointed *Amātya* jointly with his brother.[18] In 1677, the office of the Amātya was given to Raghunath Pant Hanmante.[19] Rāmchandra Pant still had a place

16. *Bavada Daftar* I, 95.
17. *Bavada Daftar* I, 6.
18. *Sen : Shiv Chhatrapati*, p. 108.
19. *Patwardhan and Rawlinson : Source Book of Maratha History I*, 40.

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among the statesmen at Raigarh.[20] Following Anajee Datto's execution, *Sambhajee* appointed him as *Sachiva*[21] which office he held till 1693 when *Rajaram* made him *Amātya*.[22] At the time of leaving Raigarh for Jinji, Rajaram entrusted the destinies of Maharashtra to Rāmchandra Pant. This finds corroboration in the *Ājnyāpatra* itself. After Rajaram's death he rendered assistance to *Tarabai* in numerous ways. *Sahu*, after his release from the Mogul captivity, made overtures to win him over to his side.[23] But Rāmchandra Pant chose to remain with *Shivaji II*. He went over to the side of *Sambhajee II* when the latter seized the throne of Kolhapur. He seems to have retired some time between 19th November 1715 (the date of the issue of the *Ājnyāpatra*) and 9th March 1716. The *Ājnyāpatra* bears his name with the designation of Amātya which conclusively proves his being in the said office till 19th November 1715; whereas a letter dated 9th March 1716 mentions the name of his son Bhagwantrao as Amatya.[24]

It was believed up till recently that Rāmchandra Pant was alive for a period of more than a decade after his retirement from State service. But two letters brought to light recently by Dr. A. G. Pawar show that he died sometime towards the end of 1715 or in the beginning of 1716.[24a] Further, a letter from the Peshwa Daftar contains a reference indicating that he must have died some time after Dassera (i.e. the 10th day of the bright half of the month of Ashwin)[24b]

Until some years back it was supposed that Rāmchandra Pant breathed his last near Alibag (District Kolaba), but the discovery of his Samadhi at Panhalgad Fort in the year 1941 proves that he died at that place.[25]

A perusal of the *Ājnyāpatra* reveals that the person noting down the minutest details of all aspects of the Maratha polity of the time must have been a statesman of high order and well-experienced in the work of organisation. Furthermore, the

20. *Sabhasad; Bakhar* (19th ed.), p. 105.
21. *R. B. Rad.: Sanada Patrātil Mahiti*, p. 186.
22. *Shiv Charitra Sahitya Pradip, Jedhe Shakavali*, p. 37.
23. A letter from Bavada Archives quoted by *Sardesai in Sthirbuddhi Rajaram*, p. 155.
24. *Sardesai Gharanyacha Itihas* II, p. 85.
24a. Dr. A. G. Pawar, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress Fourth Session, Lahore 1940, p. 336.
24b. Peshwa Daftar, XXVI, 138.
25. B. I. S. N. Quarterly, XXII, p. 7.

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author must have been a personal witness to the regime of each of the Maratha kings from *Shivaji* to *Sambhajee II*. Every page of the *Ājnyāpatra* beautifully and truthfully depicts the political ethics and policy of Shivaji, making it abundantly clear that it could not have been written by a person who had not taken training in the administration of State under Shivaji himself. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen observes, "The author, whoever he might have been, had close personal knowledge of Shivaji's governance. In the second decade of the 18th century, the anti-feudal policy of Shivaji had already been abandoned in practice, but the author still recommends it in a manner that leaves no doubt that he had served under the great Shivaji and was merely echoing him."[26] The policy recommended towards European traders, the stress laid on the importance of forts and navy, the injunction against granting Inams —all these are typical of the State policy laid down by Shivaji.

Of all the Maratha statesmen who had served under Shivaji and continued to participate in the administration of the Maratha State till the regime of Sambhajee II, the one name that suggests itself as the likely author, of the *Ājnyāpatra* is that of Rāmchandra Pant Amātya. Professor Kolte suggests the name of *Nilkantha Moreshwar Pingale,* as the possible author of the *Ājnyāpatra.* Nilkantha Moreshwar got the premiership of the Maratha State after the death of his father in 1681.[27] It is not, however, in evidence that he actively shared the responsibility of administration at any time during Shivaji's regime. On the other hand, Rāmachandra Pant's close association with the administration since 1672 is well known. Moreover, Nilo Moreshwar died in January 1708 while the *Ājnyāpatra* was written in November 1715.[27a]

It should be noted here that the excellent administrative system evolved by Shivaji did not survive him. A contemporary of Shivaji alone could, therefore, produce a work reflecting the deep and subtle administrative insight of the great king. Nilkantha Moreshwar, not being a contemporary of Shivaji in the sense Rāmchandra Pant was, his claim to the authorship of the *Ājnyāpatra* cannot stand against that of Rāmchandra Pant.

It would be of interest to compare the *Ājnyāpatra* in point of language and contents with two letters of Shivaji, dated 16-5-1673

26. *Sen : Administrative System of the Marathas,* 2nd Ed., p. 6
27. B. I. S. M. Itivritta Shake 1834, p. 215.
27a. *Ibid.*

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and 18-1-1673 respectively.[28] It is noteworthy and significant that both these letters were found in the collection of writings and letters of Pant Amātya. The astonishingly close resemblance between the language and style of these letters and of the *Ājnyāpatra* shows that the latter work comes from the pen of one who took Shivaji as his master and model; and the one person answering to this description is Ramchandra Pant Amatya.

The deep and subtle knowledge and insight and the practical experience displayed while dealing with forts and naval policy also point to Rāmachandra Pant as the author of this book. His intimate knowledge about forts — their organisation and administration — and the realisation of their important role in the edifice of the Maratha empire, were the natural result of his close association with Shivaji's administration and of his being practically the sole director of military operations during the War of Maratha Independence after the flight of Rajaram to Jinji. The following remarks of Professor B. K. Sarkar nicely elucidate this point: "Rāmchandra Pant's observations on forts do not betray the influence of academicians. Indeed, he talks like a contractor, engineer and manager. In regard to the treatment of kings and ministers he is quite prepared to indulge in academic generalities and ethical first postulates of political principles. But in regard to forts he makes short of them. Indeed he virtually avoids those theoretical considerations. He is chiefly interested in their actual construction and administration."[29]

Further as Treasury Officer of an important sea-fort like Sindhu Durga, Rāmchandra Pant had an opportunity of studying and mastering the naval organisation and policy of Shivaji. In fact, none of the Maratha statesmen of Shivaji's time surviving at the time when the *Ājnyāpatra* was issued with the only exception of Rāmchandra Pant had any naval experience.

Professor Kolte's suggestion of the name of Nilakantha Moreshwar as the author of the *Ājnyāpatra* in preference to Rāmchandra Pant Amātya cannot, therefore, hold ground. On the other hand, all the internal evidence found in the body of the work itself and the other evidence deducible from relevant circumstances point unmistakably to Rāmchandra Pant Amātya as the author of the *Ājnyāpatra.*

28. *Rajwade*: M. I. S., Vol. VIII, Letters 28 and 31.
29. *B. K. Sarkar*: Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, p. 99.

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V. Some Historical References Examined

The contents of the concluding portion of Chapter II of the *Ājnyāpatra* present a historical riddle which it is attempted to analyse and explain here. The lines in question are: "His Majesty, firmly determined, that not allowing respite to the enemy, he should go and defeat him with his army and therefore made to gather together the Rajputs of all provinces. On an auspicious day, His Majesty crossed the Narmada. While, by favour of God, within a short time he will defeat the chief enemy, subdue all the territories and forts about Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Dacca, Thatta and maritime and other places, and go to Benares and establish the Idol of Kashi Vishveshvara, till then the revered Queen Mother, the revered and holy amongst all the holies, will have to stay in the southern provinces for the protection of the south. With her has been kept the young prince of long life, dearer than life and ornament to the kingdom. You have been kept to serve both of them."

Now the questions that arise are: who was the king, making preparations for the invasion of the North and who crossed the Narmada? Who was the queen-mother and the young prince left behind in the south?

From the historical evidence available pertaining to the Maratha history of those times, we know for certain that none of Shivaji, Sambhaji, Rajaram, Shivaji II and Sambhajee II ever crossed the Narmada for conquest of the North. The reference is, therefore, seemingly unhistorical, and coming from the pen of none other than Rāmchandra Pant, is rather puzzling. How should this be interpreted?

Professor Kolte accepts that neither Shivaji II nor Sambhaji II crossed the Narmada. He also feels that the reference thereto is unhistorical, but says, "let us accept this statement as evidence of the fact that Shivaji II had crossed the Narmada with his soldiers."[30] An important statement like this cannot, however, be accepted as a historical truth unless it is corroborated by some contemporary documents.

Sardar M. V. Kibe in his foreword to the Indore edition of the *Ājnyāpatra* thinks that as it is not possible to get this statement corroborated by any other historical document, it must be a later

30. *Kolte*: Op. Cit., p. 78.

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interpolation.[31] He, however, admits that this might be a sentence showing the ideal which Rāmchandra Pant Amātya wanted to attain. But he is not prepared to believe that a man like Pant Amātya would like to run after the impossible in this manner. He, therefore, considers the statement to be untrue and a later interpolation.

To my mind, the reference contained in this passage though it may be formally to Sambhaji II is in reality to Rajaram and should be interpreted symbolically. Read in the previous context, this assumption appears to be natural and logical; for practically the whole of the second chapter deals with the policy, organisation and achievements of Rajaram. Further this interpretation is in consonance with my theory, elsewhere suggested, that this work was in fact compiled by Amātya during Rajaram's time.

Rajaram and his lieutenants had even during their occupation in fighting with the invading foe, designs to make further conquests in the south as well as in the north, as can be seen from a scheme drafted by Rajaram. In a letter dated 4th June 1691 addressed to Vajaraat-Ma'ab Hanmantrao Ghorpade, Rajaram writes :[32]

" Your desire to protect the Maharashtra Dharma is well known to His Majesty. His Majesty is pleased with you and promises to pay you and Rajeshri Krishnaji Ghorpade 6,00,000 hons. Of these 5,00,000 hons for you and 1,00,000 for Rajeshri Krishnaji Ghorpade. Of the 5,00,000 hons promised to you, you will get

62,500	after	regaining	Raigad
62,500	,,	capturing	Bijapur
62,500	,,	,,	Bhaganagar
62,500	,,	,,	Aurangabad
2,50,000	,,	,,	Delhi.

The extensive and ambitious scheme of conquests adumbrated in the above lines clearly indicates Rajaram's design to extend the sway of the Maratha State to the North beyond the Narmada.

I may cite here another reference which is, however, of a somewhat doubtful historical value. It is contained in two letters said to have been written by Rāmchandra Pant Amātya, one to Rajaram

31. *Kibe* : Foreword to *Ajnyapatra*, edited by Prof. Urdhvareshe, p. 3.
32. *Shiva Charitra Sahitya*, Vol. V, p. 10.

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while he lay beseiged in the fort of Jinji and the other to Panta Pratinidhi Pralhad Niraji. These letters (translated into English) included in Vol. XIII of the Mackenzie Collection, General (India Office Library) which contains papers styled as Maratha History and Antiquaries, were published and criticised by Dr. A. G. Pawar in Bharat Itihas Samshodak Mandal Quarterly a few years back.[33] I may quote here the following lines from the letter purporting to be addressed to Rajaram " .... On receiving this news in consequence, I now send Suntagee Ghorpuddah, Dhanagee Jadhava, Dhanbauda (Dabhade ?) Saranobat with an army; you should keep the army with my father (?) and afterwards take Pralhad Pant with twenty thousand horses and come off by Sytan Deendee (the small gate) and by the cover and support of Vatavalum wood and by the road of Teeranamulla; then we both should advance and assemble the army and afterwards go against Delhi to take revenge of the Padshah...." In the letter addressed to Pralhad Nirajee similar directions are given.

The above quoted passage clearly brings out the burning passion of Rāmchandra Pant to retaliate the mighty Mogul foe by storming his very capital.

It is, therefore, sufficiently clear, that Rajaram and his followers not only thought of conquering back the lost territories, but aimed at further conquest, both in the south and the north. Rajaram had in fact inaugurated a campaign of conquests; but unfortunately his dream of the conquest of the north was not realised during his lifetime. After his death, however, the Marathas made bold attempts to conquer northern India, while Aurangzeb was still in the Deccan.[34] The havoc played by the Marathas in the North is very ably described in the following passage translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar from the chronicles of a Persian writer (Bhimsen Bundela) who was an eye witness to these incidents. "The Marathas have made a distribution of the whole empire among their generals.[35] Writing in 1704 the famous traveller-historian Manucci says.[36] "Maratha leaders and their troops move with much confidence, because they have cowed the Mughal commanders and inspired them with fear." Kavindra Devadatta (son of Kavindra Paramanand, author of Shiva Bhārat) a contemporary of Tarabai gives a graphic account of the effect

33. *B.I.S.N. Qtly*, Vol. XXII (1941), pp. 24-30.
34. *Dr. Raghubirsingh: Malwa in Transition*, p. 57.
35. *Sir Jadunath Sankar: Life of Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 240.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

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of Maratha advance on Delhi. He says, "Delhi became very weak and lost her glory because of the anger of Tarabai."[37]

The offensive campaign against the North conceived and initiated by Rajaram was thus carried out successfully and gloriously by his successors and followers after his death. Although, as a matter of fact, neither Rajaram nor his sons personally crossed the Narmada, the Maratha generals representing their king did so. The reference to the crossing of the Narmada is, therefore, historically true when symbolically interpreted.

Further it should be borne in mind that the Marathas firmly believed that the Maratha kingdom was a God's gift and that it was the divine ordination that the Maratha kingdom should increase in glory and extent like the new crescent moon. This article of faith of the Marathas of the time is incorporated in the Seal of Shivaji which bears the following inscription :

Pratipachchandrarekḥeva Vardhiśhnu Vishvavanditā
Shāhasunoh Sivasyeśhā mudrā Bhadrāya rājate.

Pant Amatya has referred to this article of faith at several places in the *Ājnyāpatra.* That this article of faith gripped the hearts of the Marathas right till the time of the battle of Panipat, when the Maratha Empire had reached the zenith of its glory is seen from the following words of Jayaji Shinde uttered when he had laid a seige to *Nagore* in Marwad :[38] "Durga to asādhya Āni ekā jāgān avaghi fauja rāhaliyā Prithvi Digvijaya honār nāhi." (The fort is impregnable. And the conquest of the globe will not be possible if the whole army is detained at one place.)

Viewed in the above light and against the above-described historical settings the passage in question would not appear to be a mere baseless exaggeration. On the other hand, it reflects a happy combination of wishful thinking, noble ideals and actual achievements of the Marathas of the time.

Rao Bahadur Sardesai has expressed his views on this point in a personal letter to me dated 23-3-1948. He writes, "....at the time (1715 A.D.) Shahu and Balaji Vishwanath had not yet gained a firm footing. Civil war was in progress and the Kolhapur party were harbouring designs of crossing the Narmada for the conquest of Delhi and establishment of Kashi Vishveshwar. This was only

37. *K. N. Deshpande : Sardesai Smarak Grantha,* p. 184.
38. *K. N. Sane : Bhausahebanchi Bakhar,* p. 15, (5th ed. 1932).

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the programme chalked out by them and by no means accomplished facts. At this juncture Balaji Vishvanath in league with Hussein Syed defeated the Kolhapur project of invasion of Delhi. This was why Sambhaji later made friendship with Nizam-ul-mulk...."

2. Having dealt with the first part of the riddle stated above, I shall now turn my attention to the other part, viz., who were the Queen-mother and the Prince referred to, in the passage quoted. I must confess here that after examining the reference from all possible angles, no satisfactory solution in conformity with historical facts appears plausible. I, therefore, feel that the passage in question should not be construed literally but interpreted euphemistically as referring to Tarabai and her son Shivaji II, who were kept in captivity.

Sambhaji II who issued the *Ājnyāpatra* was born on 7th May 1698.[39] He must have come to the throne sometime between 11-7-1714 and 14-10-1714, because letter No. 91 in the Bāvada Daftar dated 11-7-1714 is issued in the name of Shivaji II, while letter No. 92 dated 14-10-1714 is issued by Sambhaji II.[40] We know that Sambhaji had no issue at this time. He had his mother Rajasbai no doubt, but if she is to be taken as the 'Queen-mother' referred to, the reference to 'the Prince' is meaningless. I am therefore inclined to consider the reference as referring to Tarabai and Shivaji II. The difficulty that presents itself, if this solution is accepted is that Tarabai and Shivaji, in fact, belonged to rival camps and how could it be that Sambhaji II refers to them in such reverential and affectionate terms. The formal character of this portion of the writing should be borne in mind in this connection. Sambhaji II or Rāmchandra Pant who was the real writer of the *Ājnyāpatra* might have perhaps been prompted by a sense of self-righteousness in so doing.

3. In Chapter I, Nizamshahi is mentioned along with Kutubshahi and Adilshahi in the list of the Southern States fought against by Shivaji. This is clearly an anachronism, since Nizamshahi was finally overthrown in the year 1636, long before Shivaji inaugurated his efforts for the liberation of Maharashtra.

4. While describing the campaign of Sambhaji against the Siddi of Janjira, it is mentioned in Chapter II that he (king) pill-

39. *Gadadhar Pralhad Shakavali Shiv Charitra Sahitya Pradip*, p. 66.
40. *Bavada Daftar*, Vol. I, letters 91, 92.

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aged *Nandurbar*, and other territories of the Siddi. Was Nandurbar which is situated in Khandesh ever under the sway of the Siddi ? This is highly improbable.

VI. Date of Composition

The date of the issuing of the *Ājnyāpatra* as given at the beginning of this work, is *Thursday*, the fourth day of the bright half of Margashirsha of the 42nd year of the Rajyābhishek Shaka (Era), which corresponds with the English date *Saturday* 19th November 1715. It may be pointed out here that the corresponding English date given in the various editions of this work hitherto published viz. 21st November 1716 is not correct. So also the day is Saturday and not Thursday.

Although the *Ājnyāpatra* purports to have been issued by Sambhaji II, on the above mentioned date, the actual time of its composition must be, I believe, much earlier. In fact, my idea is that assuming Rāmchandra Pant Amātya to be the author of the *Ājnyapātra*, the main body of the work was conceived during Shivaji's time, written during Rajaram's time and published (issued) in the reign of Sambhaji II. I base this speculation on the following grounds :

i. This work gives an accurate and graphic description of Shivaji's administrative system and policy which Ramchandra Pant had studied under Shivaji himself, and

ii. the historical picture drawn in the introductory portion fits in with Rajaram's times.

Rao Bahadur Sardesai has also expressed in his introductory note to the Vividha Jnyana Vistar edition of the *Ājnyāpatra* the view that the book must have been compiled during Rajaram's time.[41]

Rāmchandra Pant, on the eve of his retirement from political life, seeing that the salutary principles of administration laid down by Shivaji were being utterly forgotten and ignored by his successors and being convinced that a revival of the same was absolutely necessary to ensure the stability and prosperity of the Maratha kingdom, must have taken the opportunity to present the same for the benefit of the Maratha rulers in the form of this Royal Edict.

41. *Ājnyāpatra* : Vividha Jnyan Vistara Edition 1923, p. 5.

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There is no means to ascertain what the Chhatrapati or his ministers made of this Manual of Administration. Rāmchandra Pant's son, Bhagwantrao, however, appears to have studied it well. The word Rajneeti frequently appears in his letters and he is always seen to express regrets that the Marathas do not act up to the tenets embodied in the *Rājneeti.* His regrets were justified. The later Maratha rulers failed to avail themselves of the wisdom containd in the *Rājneeti.* Had they followed the wise policy and counsels derived from Shivaji and handed down to them by Rāmchandra Pant in the form of this *Rājneeti,* the course of the Maratha History would have perhaps run quite differently.

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Annals of Old Madras

JUDGES: SIR WILLIAM BURTON

BY

K. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A.

Here is an only instance of a Madras judge who overshot the Biblical three score and ten by a good margin by living upto the ripe old age of 94. Another judge who lived anywhere near to his age was Sir Philip Hutchins. Octagenarians among Madras judges are but few. The only one of our countrymen among them was Dr. S. Subramania Aiyar. The Earl of Halsbury had well-nigh completed his century before he passed away. Lord Dunedin and Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the United States of America are other instances that occur to our mind.

Leading men at the Bar and on the Bench in other countries are usually long lived. They share this distinction with clergymen and farmers. This does not appear to be true of our judges. Seldom have they reached even an almost patriarchal age.

This judge and his Chief Sir Edward Gambier, though born in the same year, could little have dreamt that they were destined to function as colleagues and contemporaries at Madras. The former rose to eminence after retirement while the latter made a name before he was elevated to the Bench. They were born in different shires, Northampton and Essex, educated at different schools, Winchester and Eton, and called to the bar at different Inns of Court, namely, Inner Temple and Lincoln's Inn.

William Westbrooke Burton was born in 1794. He was the fifth son of Mr. Edmund Burton of Daventry, Northamptonshire by his marriage with Elizabeth, the only daughter of Rev. John Mather of Chorley, Lancashire. He was educated at Winchester. He was a Latin scholar. He served for a short time as a midshipman in the Royal Navy and took part in the attack on New Orleans in 1814.

Then he took to law and was called to the bar Inner Temple in 1824. He joined the Midland Circuit. He was Recorder of Daventry 1826-1827. In 1828 he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court, Cape of Good Hope. Four years later he was

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transferred to the Supreme Court, New South Wales, Australia, where he was sworn in on December 22, 1832.

On June 18, 1833, Burton J. was engaged in trying Macdonald *vs.* Levy, a case involving a question of Usury Laws, with two other judges and with the aid of assessors. He held that Usury Laws as framed in England applied to the Colony. The other two judges differed from him and consequently it was held that the Usury Laws did not apply to that colony (Asiatic Journal, New Series, Vol. XIII, Part II, pp. 34 and 35).

The Sydney Gazette of June 6, 1833, reports :—

Mr. Justice Burton happening to be about 10 minutes late at court fined himself half-a-guinea which he handed over to the Sheriff (Ibid. p. 35). It is said that Charles Lamb, when he worked in the East India House, apologised for his habitually late arrivals by representing that he made up for them by correspondingly early departures. (The East India House by Foster, p. 178).

Early in 1834 Sir John Jamison and Major Druitt, Justices of Penrith, transmitted to the court copies of depositions taken before them, instead of the originals. Mr. Justice Burton imposed a heavy fine upon them. Subsequently, it appearing that this practice had been customary, though irregular and that the magistrates had not intentionally violated the law, the fine was remitted by the court.

On the first of March the Solicitor-General moved for a criminal information against the three police magistrates of Sidney for neglecting to prepare jury lists. The court refused the application but observed that it was competent to the Law Officers of the Crown to sue for the penalty provided in the local Act. Mr. Justice Burton thought that a criminal information would lie. (Asiatic Journal, New Series, Vol. XIV, Part II, p. 267).

On the 12th of May Mr. Burton fined a juryman for being drunk while in the jury-box. The judge asked his neighbour whether he could swear that the person in question was sober. He declined doing so remarking that to the best of his knowledge he was drunk. "Then," said the judge, "I fine two pounds and commit you to the custody of the Sheriff until the fine is paid." The juryman was accordingly ejected and delivered to the keeping of two officers. (Ibid. Vol. XV, Part II, p. 222).

Mr. Burton's term on the Bench at Sidney was notable for two important decisions. The one was provoked by his claim to be senior to Dowling J. contending that the Supreme Court of the

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Colony was a body distinct from any other British Court and that the previous appointments to other Benches did not carry with them seniority in New South Wales. The other was the fruit of his own persistence in enforcing the neglected rule that barristers only should be heard in Court whereas Solicitors had hitherto illegally enjoyed the right of audience.

In 1844 Mr. Burton was knighted and transferred to the Supreme Court, Madras, and was sworn in on the 29th of August. Thus he missed by a few weeks his excellent chance of becoming Chief Justice of the New South Wales on the death of Dowling, C.J. He retired on a pension on March 15, 1857. The sixty years rule was introduced only in the early years of this century.

He returned as a private citizen to Sidney and was immediately nominated a member of the Legislative Council and on February 9, 1859, became its first President. In 1861 he resigned in protest against new nominations made for the purpose of passing the Robertson Land Bill which had been rejected by the Council and retired to private life in England.

He died at 54. Chepstow Villa, Bayswater, on August 9, 1888.

He married in 1827 Margaret, daughter of Henry Smith of Homerton, Middlesex. She died in 1846. On the 11th of June 1849 he married Maria Alphonsine, third daughter of Mr. John Beattie West, Q. C., M. P. for Dublin. The marriage was solemnized by the Rev. G. H. Evans at St. George's Cathedral, Madras. The marriage register is, among others, attested by Sir Edward Gambier, Chief Justice, and can be seen even to this day at the Cathedral.

Burton was deeply interested in religious and educational matters and published a book entitled "A Study of Religion and Education in New South Wales" (Lond.; J. Cross 1840). There he advocated the establishment of a Church of England and condemned the introduction of schools on the Irish pattern. He also urged the introduction of primary schools (Ibid. Vol. XXXI, Part I, pp. 215 to 220). A local publication by him is entitled "The Insolvent Law of New South Wales (Sidney, W. Moffitt, 1842).

There are two portraits in oils of this learned judge. One adorns the walls of one of the court rooms at Sidney. The other is in the hall of the King's School at Parramatta.

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Reviews

SELECTIONS FROM THE NAGPUR RESIDENCY RECORDS, Volume I, (1799-1806), by Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Nagpur — Government Printing — 1950 (pp. XXXII and 555) — price Rs. 12/-.

It is a pleasure to see that the First Volume of the Selections from he Old Residency Records of the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh) Secretariat has been edited by Dr. H. N. Sinha, than whom, in the words of the veteran Provincial Premier, Sri. R. Shukla, "a better choice could not have been made". The plan is to publish seven volumes of Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records, which will contain documents of historical value selected over a period of over sixty years from 1799 to about 1861. The analysis that Dr. Sinha gives of the five categories of the existing Records is instructive, as also the skeleton basis of the present Volume of Selections which includes most valuable letters from H. T. Colebrooke, the first permanent Resident at Nagpur, about the state of affairs in the Bhonsla dominions, and Elphinstone's extensive and comprehensive correspondence comprising documents of diplomatic and other import, concerning the Bhonsla and other states of the time.

British relations with the Bhonsla state are traced in the Introduction from the days of Warren Hastings to the stage when a permanent Resident at the Nagpur court became essential. The period 1799-1806 is shown to fall into two divisions, so far as the character of the political relations of the Company and the Nagpur court is concerned — *viz.*, (a) the first period terminating with the recall of Colebrooke in which the relations were based, in the clear language of the Editor, upon "an equality of status and mutual respect"; and (b) the second stage that began with the arrival of Elphinstone when the status which had previously enabled the Bhonsla to be the arbitrator among the powers of Hindustan was lost and he could continue to be a merely respectable power, and that only if he should implement the articles of peace and perform the normal duties of friendship due to the English.

Also, a considerable amount of clarity marks the division of the letters selected under various headings, for each of which a prefatory and explanatory, historical note is given. We learn that everywhere the British Residents were able to utilise the trea-

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cherous elements existing in every Indian court, to further their own interests; and also that presents made on a liberal scale conciliated the selfish and rapacious ministers of the Maratha *darbars*. Also we learn from the letters how the administration of Raghoji II was "slow, corrupt and inefficient"—every thing depending on the personal whim of the ruler and of his favourites and ministers. The discipline and equipment of his sepoys were of a very poor quality; and "the ammunition and service of the artillery have all the defects common to the ordinance of the native powers." Wellesley therefore could well regard the Nagpur State as a third-rate power when he began the Second Maratha War.

Clear sketches of the Bhonsla's relations with the Nizam, the Holkar, and other Indian powers, and shrewd accounts of the Sindia's strength and the Poona court are all detailed, as gleaned from the correspondence, every letter of which has, as noted above, a short explanatory note. The Table of Chronology of Letters, classified according to subject, is very useful to the reader; and the index of names of persons occurring in the letters is quite useful for reference purposes. With the help of the explanatory equipment, the contents of the letters can be easily assimilated—a task which has been neatly and efficiently performed by the Editor from whose facile pen we expect to have in quick succession the subsequent volumes.

—C. S. S.

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PROF. D. V. POTDAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME: "studies in Historical and Indological research presented to him by his friends and old pupils in honour of his 61st birthday"; edited by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., Delhi.

English section pages 1-383, with Index, and Marathi section pages 1-177 with a list of his numerous articles, covering pages 157-168, and an Index. A brief chronology of the events of Prof. Potdar's life from 1890 to 1950, in 2 pages in English, and 5 pages in Marathi. Bharat Itihas Samashodhak Mandal, Poona, Rs. 16.

As the Preface says, the articles (41 + 13) by researchers from Patiala to Trivandrum and from Jodhpur to Gauhati cover a wide field, and throw light on many abstruce problems, a few of which are: (1) *Was there an Original Shorter Gita?* (No), by Sri P. G. Divanji, Bombay; (2) *The Chinese Origin of the English Word Rice* (Latin Oryza from Greek Oruza, from Ningpo Chinese Ou-Li-

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Zz meaning Good-Grain-Food, fine cooked rice), by Sri S. Mahdihassan, Bombay; (3) *The Boar* (cloud-god) *in Mythology and Folklore,* by Sri S. Kakati, Gauhati; (4) *Jainas and Jainism* (its doctrines, philosophy and logic), by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur; (5) *Association of Sita and Pūṣan in Rgveda and its Astronomical Significance* (i.e., the simultaneous rise of Revati asterism and the beginning of the wheat-sowing season), by Sri B. R. Kulkarni, Dhulia; (6) *Karma in the Bhagavad-Gita* (Karma in its two-fold aspect, viz. activity, and the binding power, which latter is dependent on the frame of mind behind the activity), by Dr. G. V. Devasthali, Nasik; and (7) *Sufi's Stages* (four, viz. humanity, path, knowledge, and truth: *Shariat, Tariqat, Marifat and Haqiqat*), by Prof. Bhagawat Dayal Verma, Poona.

Many new historical facts and dates are offered in the articles: (1) *A Tamil Account of Sivaji's Expedition to the South and the Mughal Seige of Gingee,* by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, Ramnad: (2) *Some Gaps in the History of Vaisali* (esp. the blank of 800 years from ca. 480 B.C.), discussed by Dr. A. S. Altekar, Patna, in the light of the coins, etc. discovered during the excavations at Vaisali, 1950, by Sri Krishnadeva; (3) *The History of Maize (Maka) in India between A.D. 1500 and 1900,* by Prof. P. K. Gode, Poona: (4) *New Light on Later Pallava Chronology* (from Nandivarman II, A.D. 731-96 — and not 717-779 or 710-75 — down to Aparajita, 879-897); (5) *The Author of the Silathambhas of Asokan Inscriptions* (almost all the *sthambhas,* monolithic pillars, having been set up at Asoka's command itself; the elephant, bull, horse, lion and wheel associated with them symbolising probably the Buddha's conception in his mother's womb, the zodiacal sign of his nativity, his great departure from home, his pre-eminence among the Śākyas, and his setting in motion the law of righteousness), by Prof. Gurty Venket Rao, Waltair; (6) *Buddhist Motifs in Byzantine Architecture (262 B.C. to 328 A.D.),* by Sri V. N. Talvalkar, Chembur; (7) *Bahmani Coinage as a Source of Deccan History (1347-1537),* by Sri H.K. Sherwani; (8) *St. Thomas's Tombs, Skeletons, and (undecayed) Bodies* (six, five and two respectively; the 2nd tomb at Mylapore, 1293 A.D., being that of a Nubian Muslim *avāriān,* i.e. of a Tōmā (Arabic *Tawwāmā,* or Sawwām ?), who was killed *accidentally* by a *Pariah fowler* at Mylapore with his *arrow, quite unlike* real St. Thomas who was *deliberately* killed as a *martyr* for Christ by *soldiers* or by a *priest,* as *The Acts,* ca. 210 A.D., and the *Passio,* ca. 500 say), by T. K. Joseph, Trivandrum; (9) *Inscriptional, Archaeological and Sculptural Value of the Pandava-Lena Caves at Nasik* (mainly and primarily Bud-

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dhist caves, dating probably from before 110 B.C., with paintings all obliterated), by Sri Y. R. Gupte, Poona; (10) *Further Archaeological Traces of Buddhism in Gujarat* (on Tārangā Hill, 5th-6th cent. A.D., at the northern end of Gujarat, and at Nagarā, a small village about 3 miles north of Cambay, prob. 7th cent. A.D.), by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Poona; and (11) *Method of Archaeology and Archaeological Excavations* (discussing practically, with expert knowledge, Archaeologist's equipment, excavation, photography, practical hints, pottery, etc.), by Sri S. K. Dikshit, Poona.

—T. K. JOSEPH

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BLOOD ON THE MOUNT (of St. Thomas), by Fr. Louis M. Shouriah, M.A., Ph.D. (Second Edition), Good Pastor Press, Madras, 1950, 41 pages, 8 as.

As the Bangalore Bishop Rt. Rev. P. Thomas's Foreword of December 1947 says, the booklet "will prove a valuable Guide to pilgrims and visitors to the Shrine" (St. Thomas Mount Church, Madras). But as the author based his booklet "chiefly on material gleaned" from the works of D'Cruz (1928), Medlycott (1905), Richards (1908), Terence (1946), and four others (page V), who have not critically collated all the specially relevent documents beginning with Marco Polo's account (ca. 1293 A.D.) of the *Muslim and Christian* claims to one of the *two* "St. Thomas tombs" at Mylapore, Madras, and ending with Diogo Fernandes' sworn deposition of 1543 regarding his own excavation in 1523 of the St. Thomas tomb still preserved inside the Mylapore Cathedral, and also the signed "*Deed of Verification*" (dated 16th Nov. 1566) of the entire St. Thomas skull at Ortona, Italy, "*with no part missing*", there is in the brochure no real puzzling out of the St. Thomas problem.

For instance the following five riddles still remain unsolved: (1) whether St. Thomas had really been buried in *one or both* of the Mylapore tombs which were opened in 1522 and 1523, and which yielded two *complete* St. Thomas skeletons venerated to this day in Goa and Mylapore since those two years, (2) whether these two and the complete Ortona skull and other bones, and his three tombs (2 in Mylapore and 1 in Calamina in *Parthian* India according to St. Isidore, d. 636 A.D.), as well as his two mummified bodies of 1122 and 1370 in Syria, and his arm and finger in Italy, put together will make *only one skeleton, one tomb, and one body,* (3) whether he had first been killed *accidentally* by a Mylapore *Pariah* with an *arrow* as Mylapore and Malabar *Christians* (and *not* the Muslims) affirmed from at least Marco Polo's time (1288-93) to Diogo's (1517-43), and was then *deliberately* murdered again by a Mylapore '*Emprān*' *Brahmin* with a *śūlam* (= lance) as all South Indian Christians have been religiously contending since ca. 1543 to this very day, (what bare-faced self-contradiction !!), (4) whether he died "84 minutes before sunset on 3rd Karkadagam 72 *A.D.*" as the alleged St. Thomas "*Caritam*" of 1st century, and its alleged summary the Malayalam "Song of 1601" assure us, or (on 21st December) "68 *A.D.*" as the Mylapore Latin inscription affirms, and (5) whether the above *Caritam*

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did exist at any time anywhere, and the Song of 1601 had its existence before 1890 A.D. No tradition or document unconnected with South India says St. Thomas died accidentally at the hands of a Pariah fowler with an arrow. (*Caritam* = history).

Fr. Shouriah and his authorities are innocent of the latest interpretation of the Mount Cross Pahlavi inscription by Prof. Winckworth (1928) as slightly revised (1948) by Prof. Henning. *Vide* this *Journal* (J.I.H., Dec., 1948, pp. 318-19). How could that cross set up, or arranged by (the Persian) Afras (in the Sassanian period, i.e. some time after 222 A.D.) be held to have been "carved by St. Thomas himself, and embraced by him while dying, pierced by a Brahmin" (p. 19) ?

—T. K. JOSEPH

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

I. *Adyar Library Bulletin,* Madras, Vol. XIV, Part 3, 1st Oct. 1950, Besant No.
   1. *Dr. Besant as Teacher,* by George S. Arundale.
   2. *Editorial on the present Sanskrit Studies in Teheran University,* by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.
   3. *Education in Ancient India (contd.),* by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

II. *Andhra Historical Research Society* — Journal of the Vol. XVII, Parts 1 to 4, July 1946 to April 1947. Vijayanagara Commemoration Number.
   1. *Architecture — Dravidian and Vijayanagara Styles,* by Sri M. R. Appa Rao, M.A., L.T.
   2. *Jainism and Penukonda Jain Temples,* by S. Chandrasekhar.
   3. *A Brief History of Vijayanagara,* by Sri R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., M.E.S. (Retd.).

III. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* — Annals of the. Vol. XXX, Parts 3 and 4, 1949, Poona, 1950.
   1. *Vrtra (A study in the impact of the Aryans on Indian Culture),* by Budha Prakash, M.A.
   2. *Date of Sridharaswamin (between 1350 and 1450 A.D.),* by P. K. Gode, M.A.
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   2. *Ratnagotravibhaga, Text, etc.,* edited by the late E. H. Johnston, D.Litt.

V. *India Digest,* Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 2. January — February 1951.
   1. *Amidst the Primitive Folk,* by Verrier Elwin.

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VI. *London Institute of Historical Research* — Bulletin of the. Vol. XXIII, No. 68, Nov. 1950, London.
1. *National Archives of India during 1947,* by S. Roy.

VII. *Numismatic Society of India* — Journal of the. Vol. XI, Part 2, Dec. 1949, Issued Sept. 1950, Bombay.
1. *Some Interesting Coins of Sophytes,* by Mr. Awadh Kishore Narain.
2. *Some Rare Coins of the Indo-Bactrians,* by Mr. Awadh Kishore Narain.
3. *The Silver Punch-marked Coins from Taxila,* by Mr. P. L. Gupta, Banaras.

VIII. *Numismatic Society of India* — Journal of the. Vol. XII, Part I, June 1950, issued Dec. 1950, Bombay 1950.
1. *A Unique Kushano-Roman Gold Coin of Dharmadamadhara,* by Dr. A. S. Altekar, Patna University.
2. *Was Kacha a Gupta Monarch ?* by Mr. B. S. Sitholey, Lucknow.
3. *Coins from Kosam Excavations,* by Dr. C. C. Das Gupta, Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta.

IX. *United Asia* (Food Supplement), Vol. 3, No. 2, 1950.
1. *Cultural Unity of Asia,* by O. C. Gangoli.
2. *The Golden Age of Korean Art,* by Insoo Lee.
3. *India and Black America,* by Wm. A. Rutherford.

X. *Venkateswara Oriental Institute* — Journal of Sri. Vol. XI, No. 1, January-June, 1950. Tirupati.
1. *Are the Trivandrum Dramas of Bhasa Genuine ?* by Sri U. Venkata Krishna Rao, M.A.
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1. *Technique of Indian Wall Painting through the ages,* by J. K. Guha.

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1. *The Aryan Theory,* by Nanimadhab Chaudhuri, Calcutta.

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1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society,* Nagpur.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly,* Poona.
4. *Brahma Vidya,* The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
5. *Britain To-day,* London.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London.
8. *Commercial Review,* Alleppey.
9. *The Federated India,* Madras.
10. *Half Yearly Journal of Mysore University,* Mysore.
11. *The Hindustan Review,* Patna.
12. *The Indian Review,* Madras.
13. *India Quarterly,* New Delhi.
14. *India Digest,* Ahmedabad.
15. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University,* Benares.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Bombay.
18. *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras.
19. *Journal of Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute,* Bikaner.
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22. *Journal of the University of Bombay,* Bombay.
23. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika,* Benares.
24. *Perspective,* Delhi.
25. *Political Science Quarterly,* New York.
26. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,* Rajahmundry.
27. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* Bangalore.
28. *University of Ceylon Review,* Colombo.
29. *Journal of the Telugu Academy,* Cocanada.
30. *Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy,* Bangalore.

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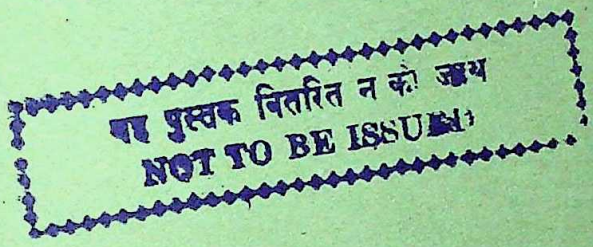

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Tirukkuṛaḷ and Dhammapada

BY

Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.A.S.B.
F.R.A.S. Hony.

The Tamil text of the *Tirukkuṛaḷ* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is regarded as one of the holy scriptures by the Tamillians like the Bhagavad-Gītā of the Hindus and the *Dhammapada* of the Buddhists. It consists of three parts, the first dealing with *Aram,* the second with *Poruḷ* and the last with *Kāma.* It really treats of *Dharma, Artha,* and *Kāma.* The probable date of its composition is the first or second century B.C. This important text, which is considered as the Tamil classic, contains invaluable moral teachings. Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar of the Madras University has quite recently translated it into English with the Tamil text transcribed in Roman script for the Adyar Library series. The *Dhammapada* which is the second book of the *Khuddakanikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka* contains the sublime teachings of the Buddha. The verses are compiled from various sources and nowhere do we find any mention of the authorship of each of the verses. They are mostly detached. The majority of them is found in other canonical texts. There are various recensions,[1] and different editions and translations.[2] It is highly esteemed in Ceylon as a classical work. It is really indispensable to students of Buddhism.

An attempt has been made here to bring to the notice of the readers the teachings common to both the texts of the *Tirukkuṛaḷ* and *Dhammapada.* The *Bhagavad-gītā* has some similar ideas too.[3]

According to the *Tirukkuṛaḷ*[4] those who have attained the feet of the Lord, will be free from all troubles. Those who have sought refuge in the feet of the Lord, can shake off anxiety, and

1. My *History of Pali Literature,* Vol. I, pp. 215-222.
2. *Ibid.,* I, 223-25.
3. Cf. *The Original Gita with comments and notes* by R. Otto and translated and edited by J. E. Turner, M.A., Ph.D. (Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London).
4. *Tirukkuṛaḷ,* vv., 4, 7, 10.

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those who have gained the feet of the Lord, cross the ocean of births.

In the *Śrimad-Bhagavad-gītā*[5] those of base birth, even women, *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras*, if only they take their refuge in the Lord, reach the highest path; how much more pure are the brahmins and royal sages, if they are devoted to the Lord.

According to the *Dhammapada*[6] he who takes refuge in the Buddha is free from all pain. He who pays homage to the Buddha or his disciples, who have crossed the flood of sorrow, acquire much merit.[7]

The *Tirukkuṛaḷ*[8] says that *Dharma* should be practised by one to the best of his ability. In the *Dhammapada*[9] a wise man always finds delight in *Dharma* expounded by the elect. He who is the drinker of *Dharma* lives happily with a serene mind. Nothing is higher than *Dharma*; to forget it is wrought with greatest evil. Do not cease to practise *Dharma* on all possible occasions to the best of your ability. Happiness springs only from *Dharma*.[10] One who practises *Dharma* lives happily in this world and in the next. One should practise *Dharma* properly.[11]

If one practises righteousness daily he is not subject to re-birth.[12] Those who follow the law which has been well explained to them, will overcome death.[13] In the *Śrimad-Bhagavad-gītā*[14] he who does not believe in righteousness must return to the path of death and *Saṃsāra*.

Be pure in mind. That is *Dharma*. All else is but pompous show. That course of conduct that steers clear of every desire, wrath and offensive speech, is alone *Dharma*. To do good and to avoid evil must be the law of our being.[15] Not to commit any sin, to do good and to purify one's mind,[16] that is the teaching of

5. *SBG.*, IX, 32-33.
6. *Dh.*, vv. 190, 192.
7. *Ibid.*, vv. 195, 196.
8. *T.*, v. 33.
9. *Dh.*, v. 79; Cf. *Milinda*, p. 345.
10. *T.*, vv. 32, 33, 39.
11. *Dh.*, v. 168; Cf. *Milinda*, 213.
12. *T.*, v. 38.
13. *Dh.*, v. 86; Cf. *Aṅguttara*, V, 232.
14. *SBG.*, IX, 3.
15. *T.*, vv. 34, 35, 40.
16. *Cf. Sūtrakritānga*, 243.

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the Awakened.[17] One should follow the law of virtue and should not follow that of sin.[18]

There is no greater life if it is free from reproach. The householder who keeps others in the right path and himself does not deviate from his, does greater penance than anchorites.[19] It is the supreme virtue of a householder to fulfil his obligations to his ancestors, gods, guests, relatives and himself.[20] A wise man should be watchful regarding himself.[21] Let him direct himself first to what is proper, and then let him teach others. If evil is not done by oneself he or she is purified.[22] One is sanctified if his speech be holy. He who forestalls blame is one who is restrained by modesty in all the world.[23] A true brahmin, although he has committed no offence, is one who can endure reproach. According to the Buddhist idea instead of being free from reproach, if he can endure it without having committed any offence, he will thereby make him perfect.[24]

A woman, if she is chaste, is regarded as great.[25] A monk is worthy of being a monk if he remains chaste and if he is above good and evil.[26] Misconduct (*duccaritam*) is the flaw of a woman like stinginess in the case of a donor, and evil things are undoubtedly flaws both in this world and in the next.[27]

A life devoid of love is barren. If one's heart is devoid of love his outward feature becomes free from grace.[28] It may be applied to the case of the disciples of Gotama also who, according to the *Dhammapada*,[29] are always wide awake and find delight in non-harming day and night.

Virtue grows in one who speaks kind, sweet and inoffensive words.[30] In the *Dhammapada*[31] a monk is one who utters sweet

17. *Dh.*, v. 183 ; Cf. *Dīgha*, ii, 49 ; *Netti*, 43, 81, 171, 186 ; *Mahāv*, iii, 420.
18. *Dh.*, v. 169 ; Cf. *Avadānaśataka* Ed. Speyer, Vol. I, pp. 220 and 222.
19. *T.*, vv. 48, 49.
20. *Ibid.*, v. 43.
21. Cf. *Brh. Up.*, I, 4, 8 ; 2, 4 ; 4, 5.
22. Dh., vv. 157, 158, 165.
23. *Dh.*, vv. 96, 143 ; Cf. *Sūtrakr.*, 253, *Uttarādh.*, 3.
24. *Dh.*, v. 399.
25. *T.*, v. 54.
26. *Dh.*, v. 267 ; Cf. *Samyutta*, I, 182.
27. *Dh.*, v. 242 ; Cf. *Ang.* IV, 195.
28. *T.*, vv. 78-79.
29. *Dh.*, v. 300.
30. *T.*, vv. 96-98.
31. *Dh.*, v. 363. *Cf. Suttanipāta*, 850.

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words, who holds his mouth under control, who speaks the mantra, who is not arrogant, and who teaches weal and *Dharma*. In the *Tirukkuṛaḷ* it is stated that a man knowing the pleasure that sweet speech gives, should not use harsh words.[32] According to the *Dhammapada*[33] harsh words should not be spoken to any man, for he may reply in the same manner. Provocative talk gives pain and retaliation may take place. In the *Śrimad-Bhagavad-gītā*[34] he by whom the world is not provoked, and who is not provoked by the world, who is free from joy, anger, fear and emotion, — he is dear to the Lord. Speech which does not offend others, which is truthful, pleasant and useful, and also reciting holy writ, is called asceticism in word.[35]

A wise man holds the scales evenly unmindful of prosperity or adversity.[36] A wise man makes no show of ups and downs either in happiness or in sorrow.[37] In the *Śrīmad-Bhagavad-gītā*[38] he who is the same to foe and friend, honour and dishonour, to heat and cold maintaining equanimity in pleasure and pain, and freed from attachment, silent whether praised or blamed, even-minded, content whatever may befall, without a home, firm in faith and greatly devoted, is dear to the Lord.

In the *Tirukkuṛaḷ*[39] the wealth of the upright never dwindles but it passes on to posterity. Give up ill-gotten wealth, though it brings prosperity. In the *Dhammapada*[40] he who does not desire his own prosperity by dishonest means, is virtuous, and wise. One should not covet other's wealth for evils come out of covetousness.[41] One should not desire wealth for his own self or for others.[42] He who desires prosperity by dishonest means is not wise, virtuous and righteous. One should take care that greediness and vice do not bring him to grief for a long time.[43] A person earns wealth for rendering help to the deserving.[44] The *Dhamma-*

32. *T.*, v. 99.
33. *Dh.*, v. 133.
34. *SBG.*, XXI, 15.
35. *Ibid.*, XVII, 15.
36. *T.*, v. 115.
37. *Dh.*, v. 83.
38. *SBG.*, XII, 18-19.
39. *T.*, vv. 112, 113.
40. *Dh.* v. 84.
41. T., v. 177.
42. *Dh.*, v. 84; Cf. *Uttarādh*, 5, 4.
43. *Dh.*, v. 248.
44. *T.*, v. 212.

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pada deprecates thirst for wealth.[45] It states that wealth slays a wicked person but not those whose quest is the beyond. A wicked person on account of his thirst for wealth not only kills himself but also kills others.

In the *Tirukkuṛaḷ*[46] we find that whatever else you may not control, control your tongue lest you should repent for your indiscreet words. A word of evil will lead one to trouble. One will surely lose the fruit of his good deeds if he utters the word of evil. In the *Dhammapada*[47] one should control his tongue. He should give up all offence in speech and should be careful in not using angry words. He should also practise virtue with his speech. In the *Tirukkuṛaḷ*[48] the god of righteousness loves one who is above anger and attains self-control through knowledge.[49] In the *Dhammapada*[50] those sages who do not harm anybody and who are always well-restrained in body, go to the place where there is no death and where there is no grief. The *Śrīmad-Bhagavadgītā*[51] points out that one should persevere in strenuous self-control. The wisdom of one whose senses are under control, is well-founded. He who is self-controlled is awake.[52]

Right conduct exalts a person.[53] He who is possessed of good conduct and insight (*sīladassana*) is dear to us.[54] Good conduct brings happiness and bad conduct leads one to misery.[55]

One should strive hard to walk in the right path.[56] The *Dhammapada*[57] points out that the eightfold path is the best. This is the way towards the attainment of purity. One will put an end to suffering after reaching the right path.

In the *Dhammapada*[58] one who does a sinful act suffers[59] in this world and in the next. One who does a good deed finds delight

45. *Dh.*, v. 355 ; Cf. *Sūtrakr*, 309.
46. *T.*, vv. 127, 128.
47. *Dh.*, v. 232.
48. *T.*, v. 130.
49. Cf. *Uttarādh.* 161 ; *Sūtrakr.*, 251.
50. *Dh.*, v. 225.
51. *SBG.*, II, 61.
52. *Ibid.*, II, 69.
53. *T.*, v. 131.
54. *Dh.*, v. 217.
55. *T.*, v. 132.
56. *T.* v. 132. *Dh.*, vv. 274-275 ; Cf. *Brh. Up.*, 4, 4, 8.
57. T., v. 133.
58. *Dh.*, vv. 15-18.
59. Cf. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, 298.

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in this world and in the next. He is pleased looking at the purity of his deed. An evil doer suffers at the thought that an evil deed[60] has been done by him. He suffers all the more after having gone to hell. A doer of a meritorious deed is pleased here and in the next. He is pleased at the thought that a meritorious deed has been done by him. He is pleased all the more after having reached the blessed region.

The action that is necessary should be done. Action is better than non-action. Even the maintenance of one's body would not be achieved if he did not act.[61] Intelligence is considered to be more excellent than action.[62] By merely refusing to undertake action man attains no release from the bonds of *Karma*, nor by mere renunciation of action does he attain perfection.[63]

In the *Tirukkuṛaḷ*[64] the envious do not prosper. The wise do not commit any wrong out of envy, for they know the evils arising out of it.[65] In the *Dhammapada*[66] one should put away conceit[67] (*mānaṃ*). It is the aspiration of a fool that both the laymen and monks should think that this has been done by him and that what is to be done or not to be done should be deferred to him. His wishes and conceit grow (*icchā māno ca vaḍḍhati*). Even the gods envy him who is free from pride and free from sins.[68] The Buddhas are free from vanity, but the world delights in vanity. Those who are sages do not harm anybody.[69] One should not envy others. Fortune forsakes the envious. Envy which is a deadly sin leads one to hell. Envy never thrives. Fortune never forsakes one who is free from envy. An envious stingy and dishonest man does not become good by means of talking too much or by the excellence of his complexion.[70]

In the *Tirukkuṛaḷ*[71] adultery should not be indulged in. In the *Dhammapada*[72] one should not visit other's wife because the

60. *Ibid.*, 251.
61. *SBG.*, III, 8.
62. *Ibid.*, III, 1.
63. *Ibid.*, III, 4.
64. *T.*, v. 135.
65. *Ibid.*, v. 164.
66. *Dh.*, v. 221.
67. Cf. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, 302; *Sam.* I, 23.
68. Cf. *Neṭṭi*, 162.
69. *Dh.*, vv. 74, 94, 254, 225.
70. *T.*, vv. 161, 167, 168, 170; Cf. *Dh.*, v. 262.
71. *Ibid.*, v. 150.
72. *Dh.*, v. 310.

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king inflicts severe punishment. Those who visit others' wives get four things: (1) demerit, (2) uncomfortable bed (i.e., not getting rest), (3) blame, and (4) hell.[73] Misconduct is the woman's flaw. It is an evil thing both in this world and in the next.[74] The life of a shameless man is easy to live.[75] For one who ever seeks the pure, detached, and not assertive, pure in life, life is hard to live.[76]

If one wishes to maintain character one's conduct must be marked by patience.[77] Patience is the supreme austerity (*Khanti paraṃ tapo*).[78] He who patiently bears harsh words is the trained man who is the best among men.[79]. In the *Tirukkuṛaḷ*[80] one should forbear the harm done to him by another. In the *Dhammapada*[81] the Buddha says that forbearance is the excellent waning out.

One who endures the insolent words of the transgressor is greater than an ascetic.[82] In the *Dhammapada*[83] he is not a recluse who does injury to another. One who has renounced the world does no harm to others.

In the *Dhammapada*[84] contentment does not lie in sense-desires. The wise know that sense-desires are sufferings and distasteful.[85] One does not find delight even in celestial sense-desires.[86] A learned man (*paṇḍito*) should give up sensual pleasures.[87] Delightful are the forests where the people come not to take pleasure; they will find delight being free from passion; they are not in search for sensual pleasures.[88] Those who move about being alert for beauty, unrestrained in senses, immoderate in food, slothful and inert, are easily overcome by Mara, the

73. *Ibid.*, v. 309.
74. *Ibid.*, v. 242.
75. *Ibid.*, v. 244.
76. *Ibid.*, v. 245.
77. T., v. 154.
78. *Dh.*, v. 184.
79. *Ibid.*, v. 321.
80. *T.*, v. 158.
81. *Dh.*, v. 184.
82. *T.*, v. 159.
83. *Dh.*, *v.* 184.
84. *Ibid.*, vv. 186-87.
85. Cf. *Vinaya*, ii, 25; *Divyā*, 224.
86. *Cf. Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva*, v. 6503.
87. *Dh.*, v. 88.
88. *Dh.*, v. 99.

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sinner.[89] In the *Śrīmad-Bhagavadgītā*[90] the senses are disturbing. They deprive the wise man of his reason. If a man meditates on the sense objects, interest in them arises; from interest desire is born; from desire anger is produced. Through anger comes bewilderment; through bewilderment the wavering of prudence; the loss of prudence entails injury to the capacity for judgment and the power of resolution. This is spiritual destruction. He who draws near the objects of sense with his senses free from inclination and aversion and under the firm control of the self, attains to serenity. In this serenity he gains release from all evil. He who controls the five organs of action yet at the same time reflects in his mind on the objects of the senses, is called one who is given up to illusion and bad conduct.[91]

In the *Tirukkuṛaḷ*[92] one should not be guilty of slander. In the *Dhammapada*[93] if one finds fault with others and is always of captious mind, his own sins grow. Men blame the silent sitter, they also blame the much talker, they also blame those who talk moderately. There is none in this world who is not blamed. There is none in this world who is solely blamed or who is solely praised.[94] The wise remain unmoved either by praise or by blame.[95]

In the *Tirukkuṛaḷ*[96] he who utters silly words is despised by all. It is better not to utter empty words.[97] A good man will never indulge in vain words.[98] A well uttered speech becomes fruitless if it is not carried into action and *vice versa*.[99]

One does not become learned and righteous by talking much. He should guard his speech. A monk should be restrained in his speech.[100] He who holds his speech under control utters sweet words.[101]

89. *Ibid.*, v. 7.
90. *SBG.*, II, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65.
91. *Ibid.*, III, 6.
92. *T.*, v. 181.
93. *Dh.*, v. 253.
94. *Dh.*, vv. 227, 228.
95. *Ibid.*, v. 81; Cf. *Sūtrakr.*, 300; *Vin.* I, 185; *Milinda*, 386.
96. *T., v.* 191.
97. *Ibid.*, v. 194.
98. *Ibid.*, v. 196.
99. *Dh.*, vv. 51, 52.
100. Cf. *Uttarādh.* 8. 1.
101. Dh., vv. 258, 259, 281, 361, 363.

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One should be afraid of evil deed. If one really loves oneself he or she should not do any harm to others. Sorrow hardly comes to a person who does not deviate from right.[102] A man should entirely avoid evil things. One should repel his mind from evil deed. Suffering comes from evil. The fool who offends the person who is pure and free from fault, suffers from the very evil. Those who perform sinful deeds go to hell. One cannot escape from evil deed whether he may be in the sky, or in the mid-ocean, or in the hill-cave. Evil does not come to a person who has not done anything wrong.

Far nobler than one thousand oblations to fire is an act of abstinence from taking flesh.[103] One should not kill anybody or cause another person to kill,[104] making his own self the type, because life is dear to all.[105] One does not become an elect because he kills living creatures. One becomes so by avoiding life-slaughter.[106] One becomes a true brahmin who does not kill nor cause slaughter.[107]

Non-killing is the sum-total of virtues. Do not commit any act of violence.[108] A man is called an elect because he has pity on all living creatures and because he does not injure them.[109] He is not just if he carries a matter by violence.[110]

Nothing lasts except one's fearless renown.[111] One who is blessed with fame and riches, is honoured wherever he goes.[112] The scent of the pious goes against the wind. A good man pervades all directions. Odour of virtue is supreme among all sorts of perfumes.[113]

102. *T.*, vv. 202, 209, 210.
103. *T.*, v. 259.
104. Cf. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, 311.
105. *Dh.*, vv. 123, 116, 117, 125, 126, 127, 124, 129, 130; *Netti*, 130; *Jāt.* III, 292; *Divyav*, 339; *Uttaradh. Sūtra*, p. 3; *Mahābh.* xiii, 5568.
106. *Dh.*, v. 270.
107. *Ibid.*, v. 405.
108. *T.*, v. 321, 327.
109. *Dh.*, v. 270.
110. *Ibid.*, v. 256.
111. *T.* v. 233.
112. *Dh.* v. 303.
113. *Ibid.*, vv. 54 55; Cf. Ang. I 226; *Milinda* 333.

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The unblemished truly live.[114] One becomes a true brahmin if he is blameless.[115] One should be compassionate.[116] A monk who behaves with compassion is sure to reach *Nirvāṇa*.[117]

True charity lies in the gift to the poor alone.[118] The gift of *Dharma* conquers all gifts.[119]

The weak should not be oppressed.[120] One should be cordial in his ways and one should be righteous in his deeds.[121] This is applicable not only to the monks but also to the laity. One should not expect any return for the service done.[122] In the *Śrimad Bhagavadgītā*[123] we find that the Lord has no desire for the fruit of action. Whosoever has abandoned attachment to the fruit of actions, ever contented in himself and independent, even though he is occupied in action, nevertheless he involves no *karma* for himself.[124]

The *Dhammapada* does not contain the idea that nothing should be expected in return for the service done. But in the verse 166 it is pointed out that a person should not neglect his own duty for the sake of another's welfare, however great. He should always be attentive to his duty after knowing it. According to the *Śrīmad-Bhagavadgītā*[125] it is better to fulfil one's own duty, even though inadequately performed, than another's duty, even though well done. Better is destruction in fulfilling one's own duty than the gain of happiness in the fulfilment of duty not one's own.

The true form of penance is to put up with all pains and to abstain from injury.[126] In the *Dhammapada*[127] penance is the supreme austerity.[128] He is not a recluse who strikes and insults

114. *T.* v. 240.
115. *Dh.* vv. 386 388.
116. *T.*, v. 242.
117. *Dh.*, v. 368; *Mahāvastu*, 111, 421, 523.
118. *T.*, v. 221.
119. *Dh.*, v. 354.
120. *T.*, v. 250.
121. *Dh.*, v. 376.
122. *T.*, v. 211.
123. *SBG.*, IV, 14.
124. *Ibid.*, IV, 20.
125. *Ibid.* III, 35.
126. *T.*, v. 261.
127. *Dh.*, v. 184; *Dīgha*, ii, 49.
128. Cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 49.

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others. Penance is only possible for the disciplined.[129] Men who have not observed proper discipline, perish.[130]

A man loses his saintly behaviour if his mind is bent on evil.[131] He is advised to avoid evil deeds.[132] If he commits any sin, let him not do it again, because the accumulation of evil is painful.[133] According to the *Śrīmad-Bhagavadgītā*[134] the knowledge of evil-doers who are the lowest of men about the Lord, is carried away by their infatuation with Māyā because they have betaken themselves to a vicious nature. They do not take refuge in the Lord. Doers of good deeds praise the Lord. They are of four kinds.[135] The possessor of knowledge who is one of the four, is pre-eminent. The Lord is dear to him as he is dear to the Lord.[136] If a man does what is good, let him do it again, because the accumulation of good is delightful.[137] One should not think lightly of evil. A fool becomes full of evil even if he gathers it little by little.[138] An evil-doer sees happiness so long as his evil deed does not ripen. But when his evil deed becomes ripe, then the evil-doer sees it.[139] It is quite clear from the *Dhammapada* (Ch. IX) that an evil-doer really loses his saintliness. If persons abstain from evil deeds there is no need either for tonsure or for matted looks.[140] He is a true *brāhmaṇa* when he is rid of evil. He does not offend by deed, word or thought.[141] For a fool it is no good having platted hair. His inside is dirty. It is no good cleaning outside.[142]

He who wants to command respect must guard his mind against robbing others.[143] Those who know stealing only will indulge in an unrighteous act and will forthwith perish.[144] He

129. *T.*, v. 263.
130. *Dh.*, v. 155.
131. *T.*, v. 272.
132. *Dh.*, v. 123.
133. *Ibid.*, v. 117.
134. *SBG.*, VII, 15.
135. *Ibid.*, VII, 16-17.
136. *Ibid.*, VII, 17.
137. *Dh.*, v. 118.
138. *Dh.*, v. 121 ; Cf. *Jāt.* III, 169.
139. *Dh.*, v. 119.
140. *T.*, v. 280.
141. *Dh.*, vv. 388-391 ; Cf. *Netti*, p. 183.
142. *Dh.*, v. 394.
143. *T.*, v. 281.
144. *Ibid.*, v. 289.

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who takes what is not given him brings about his own ruin.[145] A true brahmin is one who takes nothing in the world that is not given him.[146] One should be truthful.[147] He who is endowed with truth, temperate, free from sins and virtuous, is indeed worthy of yellow robe.[148] They who know truth in truth and untruth in untruth arrive at truth.[149] One should banish anger from his mind.[150] Do not get angry with anyone.[151] He who restrains his anger shows real restrain.[152] Men given to anger are the companions of the devil, and those who are free from it live with the immortals.[153] One should give up anger.[154] One should not yield to it.[155] He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot is called a real charioteer.[156] He will go near the gods by removing anger.[157] If one fails to control bodily anger, anger of the tongue, and anger of the mind, he is sure to suffer.[158]

It is a supreme virtue not to do even the slightest injury to others.[159] Avoid all that causes pain to others.[160] One should not commit any sin but he should do good to others.[161] One should not strike others causing injury.[162] It is further enjoined by the *Dhammapada*[163] that a man should hasten towards the good and keep his thought away from evil. Evil-doers go to hell, and the righteous people go to heaven.[164]

One should properly understand what is stable and what is unstable.[165] A true brahmin is one who is thoughtful, steady, free

145. *Dh.*, v. 246.
146. *Ibid.*, v. 409.
147. *T.*, v. 297.
148. *Dh.*, v. 10 ; *Jāt.* II, 198.
149. *Ibid.*, v. 12.
150. *T.*, v. 309.
151. *Ibid.*, v. 303.
152. *Ibid.* v. 301.
153. *Ibid.*, v. 310.
154. *Dh.*, v. 221 ; *Sūtrakr.* 302 ; *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, II, 3. 8.
155. *Dh.*, v. 224.
156. *Ibid.*, v. 222.
157. *Ibid.*, v. 224.
158. *Ibid.*, vv. 231-233.
159. *T.*, v. 317.
160. *Ibid.*, v. 316.
161. *Dh.*, v. 183 ; *Dīgha*, II, 49 ; *Mahāv.* III, 420.
162. *Dh.*, v. 185 ; *Udāna*, IV, 6.
163. *Dh.*, v. 116 ; *Jāt.* IV, 490.
164. *Dh.*, v. 126 ; *Mahāv.* II, 424.
165. *T.*, v. 331.

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from doubts, free from attachment and who has reached the other shore.[166]

A man does not suffer pain from renunciation. Ascetics renounce the world.[167] Renunciation is the essence of *Yoga ;* only he who renounces all interests is an actual *yogī*.[168] One should cut off all attachments.[169] One should seek refuge in him who is free from desires.[170] One should dig up the root of thirst.[171] Wise people cut off the fetter and leave the world, free from cares.[172] He is a true brahmin who is free from all attachments although he may be poor.[173] He is a true brahmin who has abandoned all his longings.[174] One is a true *brāhmaṇa* whose passions are extinct, i.e., who has subdued his senses.[175] A monk is really freed from all pain.[176] One should give up his longings. There is no sorrow for those who are free from desires.[177] One becomes happy when his desire dies out.[178] Ascetics fear desires.[179] When a person overcomes his thirst, he becomes free from sufferings.[180] The extinction of thirst overcomes all pain.[181] The root of thirst should be removed.[182] A just person has obtained confidence because he has obtained the extinction of desires.[183] One cannot be an ascetic if he is given up to desire and greediness.[184] He who forsakes all desires and moves about devoid of all aspiration, being free from attachment and self-conceit, attains to peace.[185] He who

166. *Dh.*, v. 414 ; Cf. *Aṅg* IV, 290.
167. *T.*, vv. 341, 344.
168. *SBG.*, VI, 2.
169. *T.*, v. 349.
170. *T.*, v. 350.
171. *Dh.*, v. 337 ; Cf. *Dh.*, v. 216 ; Cf. *Uttarādhyana Sūtra*, 17, 8 ; *Netti*, p. 42 ; *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, II, 3. 2 ; *Jataka*, iii, 387.
172. *Dh.*, v. 346.
173. *Ibid.*, v. 396.
174. *Ibid.*, v. 416.
175. *Ibid.*, v. 420 ; Cf. *Mahābhārata*, xiii, 113. 7.
176. *Dh.*, v. 361 ; *Saṃ.*, I, 73 ; *Milinda*, 399.
177. *T.*, vv. 368, 370.
178. *Ibid.*, v. 369.
179. *Ibid.*, v. 366.
180. *Dh., v.* 336 ; Cf. *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, 3. 14. It is also stated in the *Dhammapada* that sorrow and fear come from the beloved. When one becomes free from the beloved, he has neither sorrow nor fear. *Dh.*, v. 212 ; Cf. *Avadānaśataka* Ed. by J. S. Speyer, Vol. I, 191
181. *Dh.*, v. 354.
182. *Ibid.*, v. 337.
183. *Dh.* vv. 271-72 ; *Mahāvastu*, iii, 422.
184. *Dh.*, v. 264.
185. *SBG.*, II, 71.

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is trained attains to final peace through freedom from attachment; but he who is untrained is bound through his attachment, the result of his lusts.[186]

Men of pure vision dispel darkness. One should seek the truth to remove delusion.[187] One should do away with lust, anger and delusion which lead to rebirth.[188] He in whom there exist truth, virtue, pity, restraint, moderation, wisdom and freedom from impurity is called an elder.[189] Mankind is ruined by passion, hatred, delusion and lust. A gift bestowed on the passionless and on those who are free from hatred, delusion and lust, brings great reward.[190] One should speak the truth and make a gift, however small, and thereby he will go near the gods.[191] In the *Śrimad-Bhagavadgītā* (XI. 55) he who does the action of the Lord, who turns towards the Lord as to his highest goal, who is devoted to the Lord, free from attachment to the objects of sense, without hatred to any being, comes to the Lord.

Pleasure and pain are all the workings of fate.[192] They who see sin where there is no sin and see no sin where there is sin, such men embracing the false doctrine enter the evil path wherein lies suffering. They who see sin where there is sin and no sin where there is no sin, such men embracing the right doctrine enter the good path wherein lies happiness.[193] Not done is better than ill-done, ill-done afterwards brings pain; a good deed is better done, for having done it one does not repent.[194]

The duty of the learned is to delight men by their company. The precious wealth of a man is his learning.[195] The learned man who shows you what is to be avoided, should be followed.[196] Let him admonish, teach, forbid what is improper, he will be beloved of the good.[197]

186. *Ibid.*, V, 12.
187. *T.*, vv. 352, 358.
188. *Ibid.*, v. 360.
189. *Ibid.*, v. 261.
190. *Ibid.*, vv. 356-59.
191. *Dh.*, v. 224.
192. *T.*, v. 379.
193. *Dh.*, vv. 318-19.
194. *Dh.*, v. 314.
195. *T.*, vv. 394, 400.
196. *Dh.*, v. 76; *Theragāthā*, 993.
197. *Dh.*, v. 77; *Theragāthā*, 994.

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Wisdom saves one from evil.[198] A wise man should be watchful.[199] If a man holds himself dear, let him watch himself carefully. A wise man will not suffer because he will see what is proper.[200] Wisdom of a child is not only the delight of his father but also the delight of the whole world.[201] It is pleasant to have attained wisdom.[202]

The world lives through kindliness.[203] The disciples of Gautama always find delight in compassion.[204] The monk who behaves with kindness, who is happy with the doctrine of the Buddha, will reach *Nirvāṇa*.[205]

Exertion is one's real possession.[206] It is one's wealth, and it is one's strength. Earnestness is the path of *Nirvāṇa*.[207] Those who are earnest do not die. By earnestness vanity can be removed.[208] He who is earnest and meditative obtains ample joy.[209] Earnestness is always praised. By earnestness Indra attained the lordship of gods.[210] A monk who delights in earnestness, moves about like fire burning all fetters.[211]

Slothfulness should never be encouraged.[212] It is always blamed.[213] A wise monk should keep noble friends whose life is pure and who are not slothful.[214]

According to the *Tirukkuṛaḷ* a man's friends bring prosperity to him.[215] It is easy for one to say but it is difficult to do.[216] The friend of the wise resembles the waxing crescent; the friendship

198. *T.*, v. 421.
199. Cf. *Uttarādh*, 6. 4.
200. *Dh.*, vv. 157-58.
201. *T.*, v. 68.
202. *Dh.*, v. 333: *Sukho paññāya paṭilābho.*
203. *T.*, v. 572.
204. *Dh.*, v. 300.
205. *Ibid.*, v. 368; *Mahāvastu*, iii, 421, 523.
206. *T.*, vv. 591, 592, 600.
207. *Dh.*, v. 21; *Netti*, 34.
208. *Dh.*, v. 28; *Mbh.* xii, 151, 12; *Milinda*, 387.
209. *Dh.*, v. 27; *Theragāthā*, 883-4.
210. *Dh.*, v. 30; *Saṃ.* I, 229.
211. *Dh.*, v. 31.
212. *T.*, v. 602.
213. *Dh.* v. 30.
214. *Dh.*, v. 375.
215. *T.*, v. 651.
216. *T.*, v. 664.

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of the unwise fades away like the waning moon.[217] Better to have solitude than the alliance of the wicked.[218] Better to abandon than make friendship with the low people who do not help you in adversity.[219] It is wise to avoid friendship with those who befriend you at home but betray you in the public.[220] The stupid people are shameless, negligent and arrogant.[221] Hatred is a foul disease that brings discord among men.[222] Out of modesty springs one's greatness.[223] Greatness is all humility.[224] Good conduct is the virtue of the great.[225] The noble would rather die than lose modesty.[226] Ignoble men envy others and slander them.[227]

Friends who have stood by you in hour of sorrow should not be abandoned.[228] According to the *Dhammapada*[229] one should serve good friends and not bad friends. The friendship of virtuous men should be secured.[230] The company of the wicked is the greatest evil.[231] One should not have wicked people as his friends.[232] He who walks in the company of fools suffers.[233]

According to the *Dhammapada* one cannot lead a holy life if he talks much that is proper but he seldom acts accordingly.[234] The words of a person who does not act accordingly, are fruitless although they are fine. The words of a person who acts accordingly, are both fine and fruitful.[235] If an intelligent man be associated only for a minute with a wise man, he will soon perceive the truth.[236] If a fool be associated with a wise man throughout

217. *T.*, v. 781.
218. *Ibid.*, v. 814.
219. *Ibid.*, v. 816.
220. *Ibid.*, v. 820.
221. *Ibid.*, v. 833.
222. *Ibid.*, v. 851.
223. *Ibid.*, v. 960.
224. *Ibid.*, v. 978.
225. *Ibid.*, v. 982.
226. *Ibid.*, v. 1017.
227. *Ibid.*, v. 1079.
228. *Ibid.*, v. 106.
229. *Dh.*, v. 78.; *Cf.* v. 207; *T.*, v. 106.
230. *T.*, v. 441; Cf. *Dh.* v. 78.
231. *T.*, v. 460.
232. *Dh.*, v. 78.
233. *Dh.*, v. 207.
234. *Ibid.*, v. 19.
235. *Ibid.*, vv. 51-52; *Theŕag.* 323-24.
236. *Dh.*, v. 65.

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his life, it would be difficult for him to perceive the truth.[237] If a traveller does not meet with one who is his better or his equal, let him firmly keep to his solitary journey.[238] One should not have low people for friends.[239] He who walks in the company of fools suffers a long way ; company with fools as with an enemy is always painful.[240] The *Dhammapada* gives the characteristic of the stupid people who are described as fools in several places. It refers to them as thoughtless people. Those who are thoughtless are as if dead.[241] A thoughtless man has no share in the priesthood, but he is like a cowherd counting the cows of others.[242] The fools are described as men of evil wisdom who follow after vanity.[243] The fool who knows his foolishness is wise so far, but a fool who thinks himself wise is called a fool indeed.[244] An evil deed follows the fool.[245] There is no shark like hatred.[246] Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time ; it ceases by love.[247] When any evil thought is not harboured, hatred will cease.[248] In the *Śrimad-Bhagavadgītā*[249] he is surely dear to the Lord, who is without hatred to any being, who is friendly and compassionate, free from selfishness and arrogance, level-minded in weal and woe, patient, ever contented, a firmly resolute *yogī* self-controlled with heart and mind dedicated to the Lord and himself devoted to Him. Life is easy to live for a man who is shameless, mischief-maker, bold, an insulting and wretched fellow.[250] Life is hard to live for a modest man who always looks to purity, who is unselfish, quiet, spotless and intelligent.[251] Good conduct is pleasant, lasting till old age.[252] A man does not become noble by doing injury to others. An envious, stingy and dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking or by the beauty of his complexion.[253]

237. *Ibid.*, v. 64.
238. *Ibid.*, v. 61.
239. *Ibid.*, v. 78.
240. *Ibid.*, v. 207.
241. *Ibid.*, v. 21.
242. *Ibid.*, v. 19.
243. *Ibid.*, v. 26.
244. *Ibid.*, v. 63.
245. *Ibid.*, v. 71 ; Netti 161.
246. *Dh.*, v. 251.
247. *Dh.* v. 5 ; Cf. *Matthew*, 5. 44 ; *Mbh.* Bhīsmap. XXI. 10.
248. *Dh.*, v. 4.
249. *SBG.*, XII, 13-14.
250. *Dh.*, v. 244.
251. *Ibid.*, v. 245.
252. *Ibid.*, v. 333.
253. *Ibid.*, v. 270.

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The Banas in South Indian History *

BY

T. V. MAHALINGAM, M.A., D. LITT.,

Reader in Indian History and Archaeology,

University of Madras

LECTURE I

Introductory

Local or regional history is important and interesting in its own way. The history of a local area finds a place in the history of the region or country of which it forms a part. Like small streams contributing to the growth of a big river, regional history contributes in a large measure to the growth of the history of a country. The political events taking place in a small area have their repercussions on the fortunes of a larger one. Either they serve as links in the chain of the latter's growth, or as in many cases in the history of countries of mediaeval times weaken or put an end to such progress. Besides, local culture, arts and institutions have received encouragement when autonomous political units were in a flourishing condition.

Among the less known dynasties that ruled over particular areas in South India mention must be made of the Bāṇas, a dynasty of rulers who played an important role in the history of the country. Starting as a political power in the fourth century A.D. in the area round about the Kolar and Kurnool districts they continued to play a considerable part in the political history of South India till the sixteenth century, though they were never an independent political power at any time during all the period of their long and chequered history. Originally emerging as the fuedatories of the Kadambas of Banavāsi, they changed their masters as often as the political exigencies required. They swore allegiance successively to the Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed and the Pallavas of Kāñcī, till they were partially wiped out as a political power by the Cōḷa king Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-953). Consequently, a branch of them migrated to the north and established

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their power in the area covered by the present Guntur and Kistna districts outside the northern boundary of the Cōḷa empire. But one branch of them accepted the overlordship of the Cōḷas, and its members served them as distinguished officers of government. However with the decline of the Cōḷa power and the revival of the Pāṇḍyan power in the course of the thirteenth century, the Bāṇas transferred their allegiance to them and settled down in the area covered by the present Tiruchirapalli and Madhurai districts. In the early years of the Vijayanagar rule in the south the Bāṇas became their feudatories. The retreat of the Pāṇḍyas to the Tirunelveli country in the fifteenth century enabled them to consolidate their position in the Madhurai region. But with the foundation of the Nāyakship in Madhurai they sank to the position of petty vassals. Thus though the Bāṇas had a comparatively long history in South India they never rose to the position of an imperial power in the country. Their history is largely the drift or "the movement of a tribe from one part of southern India to another."

Origin of the Bāṇas

The Bāṇas trace their descent from the mighty Bali or Mahābali, son of Virocana and the lord of the Daityas who has left a great impression on the mythological and legendary history of ancient India, and about whom there are numerous stories in different parts of the country. According to traditions he was the lord of the three worlds, heaven, earth and hell, and as the leader of the Asura hosts was incessantly at war with the Devas. He succeeded in defeating Indra, and taking possession of his city Amarāvatī. But he was ultimately overcome by Viṣṇu by a strategem. Viṣṇu incarnated himself as the dwarf Vāmana, and when Mahābali was performing a sacrifice he went there as a Brahman mendicant, and was well received by the Daitya king. Requested by him to ask for a boon, Viṣṇu requested for the gift of earth covering three of his own paces, and it was immediately granted. Thereupon the divine mendicant assumed a miraculous form and with three paces took possession of the worlds and sent down Mahābali to the subterranean region of *pāṭāla*.[1] This puranic story is mentioned in some Bāṇa inscriptions also. According to them he is said to have offered welcome to Viṣṇu in the guise of

1. It is a matter of common knowledge that festivals in his honour are celebrated even to-day in different parts of India and a temple is dedicated to his worship at Gokarna (*Asiatic Researches*, III, p. 265; Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, pp. 240, 254 and 737).

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Vāmana while performing his sacrifice, and cheerfully given him the earth with all its islands and all things movable and immovable.[2]

Mahābali had a hundred sons of whom the eldest was Bāṇa of one thousand arms. He also occupies an important place in Hindu mythology and legends. Like his father, Bāṇa was a devotee and worshipper of Śiva, was elevated to the position of his door-keeper and was appointed to guard his gates.[3] He is said to have ruled from his capital Śoṇitapura.[4] According to the Tamil classic *Maṇimēkhalai* one Śirtti or Rājamahādēvi the wife of the Cōḷa king Neḍumuḍikkiḷḷi and the mother of Udayakumāraṉ was the daughter of a Mahābali (Bāṇa) ruler whose indentification however is difficult in the present state of our knowledge.[5] But all the above references to Bali, Bāṇa and their descendants belong too much to the realm of traditions and one wonders if they can be historically useful. The Bāṇa flag displayed a buck and the Bāṇa crest was a bull.[6] Their drum was called the *Paiśāca*.[7]

Early Home

From the provenance of their inscriptions and their contacts with many of their contemporary political powers in South India, it appears that during the period of their early history, the Bāṇas were a small tribe of people living in a comparatively small area in the southern reaches of the Deccan, namely the region of Pudoli (Pudalnāḍ) *viṣaya* or *mahāviṣaya*[8] (Chintamani, Srinivaspur, Mulbagal and Kolar taluqs in the Kolar district) Marukaraviṣaya[9] (near the modern Gubbi taluq) and the Kaivara *viṣaya*[10] (Sidlaghatta and Chintamani taluqs). Their territory appears to have

2. IA. XIII, p. 7, v. 3 ; EI. III. pp. 75-6 v. 31 Udayendram grant of Vikramāditya II ; The Guḍimallam plates of the same king say that he presented at an excellent sacrifice the earth to Kṛṣṇa of immeasurable lustre. (EI. XVII, pp. 4 and 6).

3. See E. C. X, *Intro.*, pp. ii and iii f. n.

4. It is believed to be the same as Śōnagaram mentioned in the *Śilappadikāram* (vi-54-5), and tried to be identified with Devikottai on the mouth of the R. Coleroon (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 17 *fn.*) or Markanam in the South Arcot district.

5. Canto XIX. 11. 50-55.
See IA. XLVI, p. 51 and *fn.* 2 ; LVII, p. 16 ; and Dr. S. K. Aiyengar, *Manimekhalai and Its Historical Setting*, p. 18.

6. EC. X Mb. 126 ; SII. II, p. 388 v. 24.

7. SII., II, p. 388, v. 24.

8. MAR. 1924, Nos. 78 and 81 ; IA. XV, p. 172 ; MAR. 1925, No. 118.

9. MAR. 1916, pt. ii, para 33.

10. MAR. 1914, pt. ii, paras 67-9.

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extended in the east as far as the Śrīparvata hills in the Kurnool district and in the south-east as far as the western part of the Chittoor district. The early history of this region is not known to us except from some pre-historic remains like kistvaens or cess tombs which are locally called *Pāṇḍavagallu*. Cut off from the sea coast in the east by the Eastern Ghats and on the south and part of the west by the Mysore plateau, the area did not have easy access to the outside world and hence did not have an earlier development. Therefore it is for instance that while Megasthenes the Greek ambassador in the court of Candragupta Maurya and the edicts of Aśoka mention the southernmost kingdoms and the semi-independent tribes of the Indian peninsula, there is conspicuous silence on their part with regard to the political condition of southern Deccan. Apparently in the early centuries of the Christian era, the region in which the Bāṇas grew to political power was all one of thick forests, barren rocks, and stony wastes, and with its development in the subsequent period it offered many opportunities for the expansion of the kingdoms that surrounded it. The region as we shall see became the cockpit of the surrounding kingdoms and its history offers an index of the varying fortunes of the dynasties that came into contact with it.

Perumbāṇappāḍi

In the subsequent period of their history the Bāṇas ruled over the area covered at present by the western part of the Chittoor district and the north-western part of the North Arcot district. This territory is usually referred to as Perumbāṇappāḍi in the Tamil inscriptions, a word apparently derived from the compound Perumbāṇa, the Tamil equivalent of the term Bṛhad Bāṇa mentioned in the Tālguṇḍa inscription of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman.[11] It was also known as Vaḍugavaḷi One Thousand Two Hundred,[12] *Vaḍugavaḷi mēṟku*,[13] *Vaḍugavaḷiyiṉ mēṟku*[14] the latter two of which mean in Tamil the same thing as *Āndhrāt pathah paścimataḥ*[15] in Sanskrit. All of them are taken to mean "the land to the west of the Āndhra road or of the country called Āndhrapatha."[16] It has been suggested that the term *Āndhra-*

11. EI. VIII, pp. 24-36; EC. VII, Sk. 76.
12. SII. III. pp. 90-91; *Vaḍugavaḷi Paṇṇīrāyiramum*.
13. 299 of 1903; E. I. XI. p. 224.
14. EI. XI, p. 226.
15. IA. XIII, p. 8; EI. III, p. 76.
16. An inscription of doubtful historical value refers to the Bāṇa country as the seven and a half lakh country containing 12,000 villages in the *Āndhra maṇḍala*. (EC. X, Mb. 157).

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patha means the Āndhra country in the same way as *Dakṣiṇāpatha* is synonymous with the Deccan, and *Uttarāpatha* with northern India. In the light of that suggestion it may be taken that *Vaḍugavaḷi* is the exact Tamil rendering of *Āndhrapatha* and *Vaḍugavaḷi mērku* as the western half of the Āndhra country. It has also been taken that the term *Vāḍuga vaḷi* is indicative of the boundary that separated the Bāṇa country from the one to the east of it. According to Hieun Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim the Āndhra country lay in the region covered by the modern Gōdavari and Kistna districts.[17] Varāhamihira also locates the Āndhra country in the same region.[18] Though there has not been any defined line of separation between the regions where the Telugu and Tamil languages were respectively spoken in early times the R. Pālār may be taken as a rough dividing line between the areas of the two tongues. Generally speaking the western boundary of the Telugu language in the south-west may be said to run through the neighbourhood of Adoni and strike the north Peṇṇār where it changes its course from the northern to the eastern direction. Proceeding farther south it reaches Nandidrug in Mysore and touches the left parting of the R. Pālār, runs in a south-easterly direction up to the western boundary of the present North Arcot district and passes through the hills in the area till it touches the R. Pālār where it enters the district of Salem.[19] Since many of the inscriptions of the Bāṇas are in the Tamil grantha character and are found mainly in parts of the North Arcot and Chittoor districts as also a part of the Kolar area in Mysore the *Perumbāṇappāḍi* of the Tamil inscriptions should have been to the south-west of the Andhra country. Apparently there was a road even in ancient times connecting Kāñcīpuram in the Chingleput district and Nellore which was probably called *Vaḍugavaḷi* in days of old and it was obviously to the west of that boundary line that the Bāṇas ruled in the known period of their history.

Thus originally they were living in the area covered by the western part of the Andhra country as the feudatories of the Śātavāhanas and the early Pallavas. But with the expansion of the Cāḷukya power in the south in the seventh century, the Bāṇas were forced to move farther down. However the Bāṇa country continued

17. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 217 ff.
18. IA. XXII, p. 173.
19. *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 111-12; Cox, *North Arcot District Manual*, I, p. 185; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, I, p. 393.

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to be called even in later times *Vaḍugavaḷi* or *Vaḍugavaḷi mērku*. The manuscript of the *Lokavibhāga*, a Digambara Jaina work in Sanskrit discovered by the Mysore Archaeological Department in 1909 and dealing with the Jaina cosmography is said to have been copied by the Muni Sarvanandin in the village of Pātalika in the Pāṇa Rāṣṭra. It has been suggested that the village may be identified with Pāṭalipura in the South Arcot district, which according to the *Periyapurāṇam* was the seat of a large Jaina monastery in the seventh century and that the Pāṇa Rāṣṭra was the territory of the Bāṇas. If the suggestion is accepted, it may be taken that the Bāṇa country at one time extended down as far as modern Cuddalore in the South Arcot district.[19a]

Parivipuri, also called Prapuri, Paṟivai,[20] Parigipura,[21] Parvipura,[22] Parumapura,[23] Paṟivaipura,[24] Padivipuri and Padavipuri[25] is said to have been the original capital of the Bāṇas. The place has been sought to be identified with Parigi in the Hindupur taluq in the Anantapur district.[26] But when the Bāṇas moved to the south in the seventh century they made Tiruvaḷḷam their capital. The new capital appears to have been known also as Vāṇapuram or Bāṇapuram.[27] Occasionally the Bāṇas are also referred to as lords of Nandagiri, probably on account of the fact that they ruled over a part of the Kolar district in which are the Nandi hills.[28]

The Bāṇas and Mahābalipuram

There are a few misconceptions regarding the association of the Bāṇas or the Mahābalis with some places in South India. One of them relates to Māmallapuram, in the Chingleput district. Locally the place is variously called, Māvalivaram, Māmallaipuram, Māmalaipuram and Mahābalipuram. While the first three are the common names for the place, the last one appears to have arisen out of the mistaken idea that Mahābali had his capital there or was worshipped at that place. It must be pointed out that

19a. E.I., XIV, p. 324.
20. EI. IV, p. 221 ; SII. II, p. 388.
21. *Nel. Ins.*, III, p. 1201.
22. 194 of 1899 ; *Rep.*, 1900, para 85.
23. EC. X Mb. 126.
24. 86 of 1906 ; *Rep.* 1907, pt. ii, para 46.
25. IA. XIII, p. 190.
26. Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, I, p. 122.
27. SII. III. p. 89 ; EI. III. p. 221 *fn.*
28. MER. 1900, para 85 ; IA. XIII, p. 190.

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the worship of Bali was confined only to the west coast and does not appear to have spread to the east coast. Further, beyond the existence of the panel of the Varāhāvatāra cave at the place there is no evidence to support the view that the place may be associated with the Demon Emperor Bali. The other modern names of the place appear to be only corruptions of the name Mahāmallapuram by which name it was called. Mahāmalla was a title of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (630 – 660) after whom the place probably came to be so called. But it had an anterior history going to older times. In the hymns of Tirumangai Āḻvār and other Vaiṣṇava literary works it is referred to as Mallai, Kaḍalmallai and Mallāpuri.[29] It is said to have been the birth place of Bhūtattu Āḻvār who is believed to have lived in the third or fourth century A.D. Ptolemy's Maliarpha has been sought to be identified with Mallai. Further the bas-relief statues of the Pallava kings Simhaviṣṇu (A.D. 575 — 600) and Mahendravarman (600 — '30) in the monolithic cave called the Ādi Varāhasvāmi temple establish the antiquity of the place. In the light of such evidence it appears that Mallai was the original name of the place and it came to be called Mahāmallapuram during the days of Narasimhavarman I, the Pallava king. It is therefore difficult to believe along with Rice that the origin of the place may be associated with the Mahāvalis.[30]

Early History

The Bāṇas appear to have been originally the feudatories of the Śātavāhanas, and after the fall of the Śātavāhana empire they seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Pallavas of Kāñcī. The first time we hear of them is in the Tālguṇḍa inscription of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman of about the middle of the sixth century A.D. We are told in the inscription[31] which gives a short account of the early history of the Kadambas of Banavāsi that Mayūraśarman, one of the early members of the family, after a good education, went to Kāñcī the Pallava capital along with his guru Vīraśarman to complete his studies and entered the *ghaṭika* to master the Veda. There he had a quarrel with a mounted guard (*aśvasamstha*) and became indignant at the treatment given to him. He considered it a dishonour to the Brahmans, and hence, giving up his Vedic studies "unsheathed a flaming sword eager to conquer the world." After getting himself trained in

29. *Peria Tirumoli*, II. 5-6.
30. See IA. LVII, pp. 9 and 16.
31. EI. VIII. pp. 24-36; EC. VII, Sk. 76.

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warlike exercises he easily overpowered the frontier guards of the Pallava kings,[32] and established himself in the dense forests round about the Śrī Parvata hill (in the Kurnool district). With the growth of his power, Mayūraśarman levied tribute from Bṛhad Bāṇa and other rulers. Finding that his growing power was irresistible, the Pallava king courted his friendship and made him a commander, and subsequently installed him as a subordinate ruler under himself to be in charge of the western marches of his kingdom. All this must have taken place towards the close of the fourth century A.D.

But the Pallava king appears to have been very much distressed over the weakness exhibited by the Bāṇa ruler and therefore wanted to strengthen the western part of his kingdom against the aggressions of the rising Kadambas. Hence as a counterpoise to their growing power and strength the Pallava king, according to an inscription of the tenth century consecrated Konkaṇivarman (390-425) of the Ganga race to take the territory of the Bāṇas.[33] The historical value of the statement made in the inscription may be doubted on account of its comparative lateness. It is really unfortunate that there is no mention about it in any of the known inscriptions of an earlier period. But the subordination of the Gangas to the Pallava kings in the fifth century is borne out by a Ganga inscription which mentions the consecration of Konkaṇivarman's grandson Ayyavarman and great grandson Mādhava II respectively by the Pallava kings Mahārājā Simhavarman and Mahārājā Skandavarman.[34] In the light of the subordination of the Gangas to the Pallavas in the fifth century it is not improbable that Konkaṇivarman would have been consecrated by the Pallava ruler for conquering the Bāṇa kingdom. Konkaṇivarman rose up to the expectations of his master for he is referred to as the 'confounder of the Bāṇa kula'[35] and 'the forest fire to the stubble of Bāṇa.[36] Apparently on account of their successes over

32. *antaḥ pālā Pallavēndrāṇām.*

33. Konkaṇināmadheyo yo Bāṇamaṇḍala jayāya kṛtābhiṣekaḥ (SII. II, Udayēndram plates of Pṛthvīpati II, pp. 333 and 387 v. 13; IA. XIII, pp. 187 and 189 and *n.*; H. Lefana, *A Manual of the Salem District*, II, p. 370).

34. Penugoṇḍa grant, 12 of 1913-14; Rep. paras 3 and 4; JRAS. 1915, pp. 471-85.

35. Kudlur Grant, *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1930.

36. *Bāṇatigahana-kakṣa pradhāha davāgneḥ* (EC. IX Db. 67), The Malohalli plates of Konkaṇivarman I read *ba ti gahana kakṣa pradāha davāgneḥ*. Rice who published the plates in the pages of *Indian Antiquary* thought that the first word might be a proper name, but subsequently suggested that it might be read as *baṇaiti* and stood for Bāṇas. (IA. V. pp. 136 and 138; *ibid.*, X. p. 38.)

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the Bāṇas the Gangas became lords of Kuvalālapura over which, the Bāṇas themselves were ruling previously. The assumption of the new title by the Ganga rulers is indicative of the dislodgement of the Bāṇas from their original home.[37]

The Bāṇas and the Western Cāḷukyas

The power of the Bāṇas was so successfully put down that we do not hear anything about them for about two centuries, till we come to the days of the Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi. Pulakeśin II, the greatest member of that dynasty who ruled between 608 and 642 extended the boundaries of his empire on all sides at the expense of his neighbours. One of his achievements in the south-east was the conquest of the Vengi country to the north of the Pallava kingdom and the appointment of his brother Viṣṇuvardhana as its governor.[38] Then he marched south with a view to capture Kāñcī and make himself the master of the whole of the Pallava kingdom. He appears to have advanced as far as Kāñcī itself forcing 'the lord of the Pallavas to retreat behind the walls of Kāñcīpuram,'[39] though he was ultimately foiled in his ambitious attempt of conquering the whole of the Pallava kingdom as is borne out by the evidence of the Kūram plates of the reign of Parameśvaravarman I which state that the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I defeated Pulakeśin in the three distinct battles of Pariyāla, Maṇimangala and Śuramāra, all of them situated apparently not far from Kāñcī itself.[40] It was very probably in the course of his expedition towards Kāñcī that Pulakeśin conquered the region that was ruled by the Bāṇas. According to an inscription at Peddavaduguru in the Gooty taluq of the Anantapur district one Satyāśraya Pṛthvīvallabha Ereyitiyaḍigaḷ defeated one Raṇavikrama in the battle of Elupattu Simbige, subjugated the Bāṇarāja viṣaya and collected a tax in gold (*tera pon*) from all the villages in the area. The inscription further registers the grant of the village of Nādanūru with the consent of the Bāṇa king. Ereyitiyaḍigaḷ must doubtless be Pulakeśin II as may be inferred from the fact that Ereya was a name by which he was

37. The fact of the Ganga success over the Baṇas is also borne out by the evidence of the Devar-halli plates where it is stated that the Bāṇakula was confounded by Nirguṇḍa Yuvarāja Duṇḍu (EC. IV Ng. 85; *Intro.*, p. 9; IA. II, p. 156.

38. See Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, pp. 58-9.

39. EI. VI, p. 11; also IA., VI, p. 75.

40. SII. I, p. 152. Maṇimangala has been identified with the modern village of Maṇimangalam lying at a distance of about 25 miles from Kāñcī.

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known.[41] From that time onwards the Bāṇas appear to have become the feudatories of the Cāḷukyan rulers of Vātāpi, their territories having been apparently returned to them. In an inscription of the Cāḷukya Śrīvallabha Mahārājādhirājā the family of Pērbāṇa is mentioned. Pērbāṇa is doubtless synonymous with Bṛhad-Bāṇa of whom mention has been made earlier. Apparently Śrīvallabha was a name of Vikramāditya I who according to the Gadval plates acquired that title after defeating the Pallavas.[42] Again Vikramāditya is said in an inscription of his grandson Vijayāditya Satyāśraya Pṛthvīvallabha, to have made a grant of land while one Bāṇarāja was ruling over the Turamāra viṣaya.[43] Turamāra viṣaya must have been the name of the region covered by the Gooty and Jammalamadugu taluqs in the modern Anantapur district. The Bāṇarāja mentioned above seems to have been the same as Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja, son of Balikula Tilaka Bāṇādhirāja mentioned in another inscription of Vijayāditya. From the suffixes to their names it may be taken that the father was an independent ruler and an *adhirāja*. It is just possible that he was the same as the Raṇavikrama who was subjugated by Pulakeśin II. Probably as a result of his defeat at the hands of the Cāḷukyan king he had to give up his title of Bāṇādhirāja and content himself with a lesser regal title. Hence when Bali Indra succeeded to the rulership of the area apparently after his father's death he was only a Bāṇarāja. Not only that. Since he was a subordinate of the Western Cāḷukyan king, he, quite in keeping with the general practice prefixed the name of his master Vikramāditya to his own. But probably on account of his social and political importance during the period he appears to have assumed such titles as "Taruṇa vasantan" and "Sāmantakesari". After Cāḷukya Vikramāditya I his son Vinayāditya's overlordship appears to have been recognised by the Bāṇa rulers of the area as may be seen from the evidence of a copper plate grant of 692 A.D. which states that while he was having his victorious camp in the village Citraśeḍu in the Toramāra viṣaya, Vinayāditya at the request of Mahārāja Citravāha of the Āḷūpa family made the grant of the village to a Brahman.[44]

41. 343 of 1920; SII. IX, i. No. 46.

42. 474 of 1906; EI. XXIV, p. 185 *fn.*

43. 333 of 1920; Rep. 1921, para 2.

44. IA. XIX. p. 146; Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 369. The village of Citraśeḍu may be identified with the modern village of Chitracedu in the Gooty taluq.

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Cāḷukya Satyāśraya Vijayāditya (696-733) the son of Vinayāditya is mentioned in a few inscriptions in the Anantapur district; among them one appears to be particularly important as it throws much welcome light on the history of the region during the period.[45] It is dated in the 22nd-23rd year of Vijayāditya Śrī Pṛthvīvallabha (A.D. 719-20) and mentions a fight between the governors of the Turamāra viṣaya and the lords of Poḷagaicceṟuvu and states that the Turamāra viṣaya belonged to Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇa Rāja, and that he on behalf of the Cāḷukya king defeated them. This Bāṇa subordinate of Vijayāditya thus appears to have had a long reign, having started as such even during the days of Vikramāditya. We do not know the circumstances under which the fight between the governors of the Turamāra viṣaya and Poḷagaicceṟuvu took place then. A suggestion has been made that the region was invaded by enemies (probably the Pallavas or their feudatories from the south east of it) between 692 and 720 and temporarily occupied by them. The contemporary Pallava ruler at Kāñcīpuram was Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha (680-720) when there was a lull in the conflict between the Pallavas and the Cāḷukyas. Therefore it is not likely that the fight in the Turamāra viṣaya would have been due to the incursions of the Pallavas or their feudatories. It is only possible that there was a local civil war which was put down by Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja on behalf of the Cāḷukya king.

In an undated Telugu inscription at Chilamakuru in the Cuddapah district mention is made of a son of Vikramāditya Be[mpa] Nādh Rāja who made a gift of land. We do not know if the Vikramāditya Bempa Nādh rāja was the same as Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja. If both of them were one it is possible that either during the period of that chieftain's rule, or during the period of the rule of his unnamed son the region about the present district of Cuddapah which was then called Renāḍu and was ruled by the Telugu Cōḍas was brought under the rule of the Bāṇas.[46] It is not however known for how long the Renāḍu country was under the rule of the Bāṇas. But it appears that between the period of the fall of the Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi and the extension of the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas over the area, the Telugu Coḍas recovered their lost power and made the Bāṇas accept their overlordship. This is borne out by an inscription of

45. 359 of 1920; Rep. 1921, paras 2 and 3.
46. 403 of 1904.

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the Telugu Cōḍa ruler Vijayāditya whose overlordship a Bāṇa chieftain called Derbaṇa Bujangadi Bhūpāditya acknowledged.[47]

We do not hear anything about the Bāṇa chieftains of this region till about the close of the ninth century. An inscription found at Pottipadu in the Jammalmadugu taluq of the Cuddapah district refers itself to the rule of a Dhavaleyarasa of the Mahabali race and registers a gift of land to Punnaya Bhaṭṭa of Poṉmānapāḍu (modern Pottipadu) as also of ghee to the *Bhogapati* or the district officer whose name however is not given in the inscription.[48] Obviously he was a member of the collateral branch of the male line. For nearly two centuries more, there is no mention of any Bāṇa chieftain in the area. But a damaged record of the twelfth year of the Cāḷukya Vikrama era (1088 A.D.) mentions a mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Cikkaraśa of Hambulige of the Mahāvali Bāṇa family and records a grant of land by him. The inscription refers to the Cāḷukya Tribhuvanamalladeva and mentions his feudatory Ballaya Cōḷa Mahārāja ruling over the Sindavāḍi Thousand.[49] It is possible to infer from the inscription that scions of the Bāṇa family who happened to linger in the Cuddapah and Anantapur districts continued to owe allegiance to the Telugu Cōḍas.

In an inscription at Sravana Belgola a king called Diṇḍigarāja is said to have been present at the time of the death of a Jaina guru on the Katavapra hill which is called Kalbappu in the Kannada language. The inscription does not contain any date but from palaeographical grounds it has been assigned to the middle of the seventh century A.D.[50] During the days of the Ganga king Śrī puruṣa (726-78) a chieftain called Dindigarar who was a descendant of the Bāṇa race and was ruling over the Kalabappunāḍu Thousand Seven Hundred made a *brahmadeya* gift. The inscription which contains the above information does not bear any date.[51] But his contemporaneity with the Ganga king Śri puruṣa is indicated by his subordination to him. It is possible that the Diṇḍigarāja of the Śravana Belgola inscription was the same as this Diṇḍigarāja.

The Udayēndram plates of Ganga Pṛthvīpati II state that Iṛiga one of the sons of a king Diṇḍi (Diṇḍigojenga) was saved

47. 474 of 1906 ; 339 of 1905.
48. 306 of 1935-6 ; Rep., para 21.
49. 566 of 1915 ; SII. IX, i. No. 157.
50. Sravana Belagola Ins. Revised II, *Intro.*, p. 68.
51. MAR. 1927, p. 109.

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by the Ganga king Pṛthvīpati I from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I.[52] Since the reign of Amoghavarṣa I commenced early in the ninth century, Diṇḍi must have ruled about the close of the eighth century. If that be so, it may be presumed that Diṇḍi or Diṇḍigojenga of the Udayendiram inscription was the same as the Bāṇa chieftain Diṇḍigarar referred to above.[53]

Main Line

From the nature of the stray and disjointed references to the Bāṇa chiefs in the Anantapur and Cuddapah districts from the seventh century onwards it is evident they did not belong to the main line of the Bāṇas, but were only members of a collateral branch. But we have a more connected history of the main dynasty, which, probably on account of the stress of political circumstances moved farther south from the Gooty area and established its political power over parts of the Chittoor, North Arcot and Kolar districts. From some of their copper plates and lithic records which give us a genealogy of the members of the dynasty we get a fair knowledge of their fortunes for about two centuries, from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the tenth centuries when their power was brought to an end by the Cōḷas who conquered their country. The following details regarding the chronology of the rulers of the dynasty are gathered from a few important inscriptions relating to them :—

Dropping out the legendary or mythological figures from the genealogy the historical figures in the main line of the Bāṇa dynasty were :—

(1) Nandivarman or Jayanandivarman (c. A.D. 770-95).
(2) Vijayāditya I (c. 795-835).
(3) Malladeva *alias* Jagadekamalla (c. 835-50).
(4) Vikramāditya I Jayameru Bāṇa Vidyādhara (c. 850-95).
(5) Vijayāditya II (Prabhu meru) Vīracūḷāmaṇi (c. 895-910).
(6) Vikramāditya II 'friend of Kṛṣṇarāja' (c. 910-16).
(7) Vijayāditya III (Puguḷvippavarganḍa).
(8) Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III (c. 965 ?).

Up to the days of the Ganga king Śivamāra (679-725) the Bāṇas appear to have been subordinate to the Gangas. Śrīpuruṣa the successor of Śivamāra was in charge of the eastern provinces of the Ganga kingdom before his accession to the throne, namely

52. SII. II, p. 382.
53. MAR. 1927, p. 110.

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Guḍimallam plates E. I. XVII pp. 1-7	Udayēndram plates E. I. III. pp. 74-79	Five Bāṇa inscriptions (stone) from Guḍimallam (EI. XI pp. 222-29)	Gulganpode Inscription (stone) IA. X. pp. 36-40	Muḍiyanūr plates IA. XV pp. 172-5 EC. X. Mb. 157.
Virocana				
Bali	Bali			Mahābali
	Bāṇa			
	Bāṇādirāja			
Nandivarman	Jayanandivarman			Nandivarman
Vijayāditya I	Vijayāditya I	Vijayāditya Mahāvali		Vijayādityadeva
Malladeva	Malladeva *alias* Jagadekamalla	Vāṇarāya feudal of Dantivarman (No. B)		
Vikramāditya I	Bāṇa Vidyādhara	Vikramāditya	Vikramāditya	
Jayameru		Vāṇa Vidyādhara	Jayameru Bāṇa Vidyādhara	
		Māvali Vāṇarāya feudal of Nandivarman III and Nṛpatunga (Nos. and A.C.)	Śrī Mahāvali Bāṇarasa (No. ii)	
Vijayāditya II	Prabhumerudeva			
Prabhumeru				
Vikramādityavarman II (heir apparent.)	Vikramāditya II	Vijayāditya Mahābali Vāṇarāya (Nos. D. and E.)	Mahāvali Bāṇarasa Prabhumeru (No. 1.)	
	Vijayāditya III Pugaḷvippavarganḍa Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III			

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Elenagarnāḍ Seventy, Āvaṇyanāḍ Thirty and the Ponkuṇḍa Twelve, an area which was coterminous with the kingdom of the Bāṇas on the basin of R. Pālār. During that period the Ganga prince was called Mādhava Muttaraśa or Muttayya. For some reason not easy to explain, the Bāṇa ruler of the time called Mahāvali Bāṇarasa who was till then loyal to the Gangas made an attempt to occupy the region under the Ganga prince. Therefore Mādhava Muttaraśa led an expedition against the Bāṇa ruler in the course of which battles appear to have been fought at Koyattūr (modern Laddigam in the Punganur Zamindari in the Chittoor district), Taṇḍakal and Manayatūr.[54] In his campaigns the Ganga prince appears to have been helped by some of his kinsmen and feudatories, one of whom was Duṇḍu, the father of one Paramagula Pṛthvī Nirgguṇḍa Rāja. He is called in an inscription *Bāṇakula kalākalaḥ* from which it may be inferred that Duṇḍu took a leading part in the suppression of the revolt.[55]

When the last great Cāḷukyan king of Vātāpi Kīrtivarman II invaded Kāñcī about A.D. 740 Śrīpuruṣa seems to have participated in the campaigns apparently little suspecting its repercussions.[56] In 753 the Rāṣṭrakūṭas overthrew the Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi and began their rule over the Deccan which lasted for over two centuries. The first important ruler of the dynasty was Kṛṣṇa I (760-775) who laid the foundations of the new kingdom on a strong basis. Probably for the reason that the Gangas did not recognise the newly established power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Kṛṣṇa led a successful expedition against the Ganga country in A.D. 768, fixed his camp at Mannagara and occupied the capital city itself.[57] Taking advantage of the new situation the Bāṇas seem to have changed their masters and joined sides with the Pallava king Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (730-795). Closely following this the Pallava king himself marched into the Gangavāḍi country fought a successful battle against Śrīpuruṣa at Vilande (a) and forced him to surrender to him much of his wealth along with the Pallava royal necklace which was set with the *urgodaya* gem and had been snatched away from Kāñcī by Bhūvikrama on an earlier

54. EC. IX. Hk. 86; X Bp. 13; 542 of 1906; MAR. 1923, Ins. No. 31; *Ibid.*, 1925 Pilavira record.

55. EC. IV. Ng. 85.

56. EC., VIII. Nr. 35; MAR. 1941 pp. 22 and 45; Śrīpuruṣa's raid of the Pallava territory is also indirectly confirmed by the existence of a village called Śrī Puruṣamangalam in the North Arcot district forming part of the Pallava kingdom.

57. Talegaon plates of Kṛṣṇa I, EI. XIII. p. 275.

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occasion.[58] This event is said to have taken place before the fifty-eighth year of the Pallava king (i.e. 788 A.D.). The Bāṇa ruler of the time appears to have participated in the war on the side of Nandivarman II for which he was rewarded with the grant of the Ganga 6000 province,[59] which appears to have been till then under the Ganga chieftain Duggamāra Ereyappa.[60] Hence the Bāṇa ruler and his successors came there after to be referred to as occupying the Ganga 6000 province.[61] The Bāṇa ruler's acceptance of the overlordship of the Pallavas is borne out by an inscription of a Mahābali Bāṇarasa.[62] Apparently he was the same as Nandivarman or Jayanandivarman who is mentioned in a record of the 62nd year of the Pallava king Nandivarman II i.e. A.D. 792.[63] It was this Nandivarman that was the historical founder of the Bāṇa line of kings that ruled over Perumbāṇappāḍi. Obviously it was on account of the fact that he owed allegiance to the Pallava Nandivarman that he, quite in keeping with the mediaeval feudal practice in South India, came to be called Nandivarman. He was called Jayanandivarman, probably on account of his military success.

Vijayāditya (796-835)

Jayanandivarman was succeeded on the Bāṇa throne by his son Vijayāditya (c. 796-835). His contemporary on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne was Govinda III (c. 795-813) who overran the Ganga kingdom, brought it directly under his control and after defeating the Pallava king Dantiga or Dantivikramavarman by about A.D. 803 made him pay tribute.[64] As a result of the new turn in the political condition in the area, the Bāṇa king appears to have changed his master and accepted the overlordship of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[65] But when Amoghavarṣa I (A.D. 814-'80) succeeded to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa

58. EC. XII, Tm. 23; III. Md. 13; SII. II. p. 517—Tandantottam plates of Nandivarman II. Some Ganga inscriptions, however tell a different tale. According to one of them Śrī Puruṣa snatched away the Pallava umbrella and took the title Permanadi (EC. VIII. Nr. 35). But the ultimate success seems to have rested with Nandivarman II only.

59. 229 of 1903.

60. EC. X. Mb. 80 and 255; Sp. 57.

61. *Ibid.*, X. Bp. 86; MAR. 1917, para 40.

62. EI, XI, p. 224.

63. SII. I. p. 91; Venkayya thinks that the Pallava overlord was Nandivarman III. (El. XI, p. 235). It is a mistake.

64. British Museum plates of Govinda III. IA. XI. p. 121; Altekar, *Rastrakutas and their times*, p. 63.

65. Nandi plates of Govinda III (806 A.D.): MAR. 1914 paras, 67-9; Chickballapur plates of Jayateja (c. 812) MAR. 1914, para 59; Sravana Belgola Inscription of Kamba, EC. II. No. 35.

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throne, the Ganga prince Rācamalla I, son of Vijayāditya (a brother of Śivamāra II) secured the independence of his kingdom from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, established his father on the throne and himself became the *Yuvarāja*. After some time he succeeded to the throne.[66] These quick changes had their repercussions on the political position of the Bāṇas, for immediately after the re-establishment of Ganga independence from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa control, they transferred their allegiance to the Pallavas. This is borne out by an inscription of Bāṇa Vijayāditya I who figures as a feudatory of the Pallava king Dantivarman.[67]

Vijayāditya I appears to have been a ruler of ability. The Udayēndram plates of Vikramāditya II refer to Vijayāditya as one who scattered hosts of opponents and before whom the enemies seized with great fear did not stand on the field of battle.[68] He is described in the Gudimallam plates as proficient in the discharge of royal duties *(dharmakṣatra bhṛtam varaḥ)*.[69]

A major event that took place during the reign of Vijayāditya was the alignment of the rulers of the Southern Deccan into two hostile groups and the waging of battles between them which affected their subsequent fortunes. The political geography of the area on the eve of the event was as follows : — After Śivamāra II, Vijayāditya ruled over the Ganga kingdom for a short time. The latter was succeeded on the throne by his son Rācamalla I who occupied it till about A.D. 850. At the same time a collateral branch of the Ganga family was established by Śivamāra's son Pṛthvīpati I who became master of the south-eastern part of the Ganga territory, including Kongu and ruled over it with Talakāḍ as his capital. This collateral line of rulers first acknowledged the overlordship of the Pallavas, and after the decline of their power that of the Cōḷas. The Telugu Cōḍas ruled over parts of the Cuddapah and Anantapur districts to the east of the R.Peṇṇār. The Noḷambas who were then rising into prominence ruled over the Noḷambavāḍi country covered by parts of the Kolar and Anantapur districts with Niḍugal and Heñjeṟu (Hemavati, Anantapur district) as their capitals. During that period they were on friendly terms with the Gangas of the main line and were their feudatories also. Not only that. The Noḷamba chieftain Noḷambādhirāja Poḷal-

66. MAR. 1919, page 22.
67. 226 of 1903 ; EI. XI, p. 234 B.
68. EI. III. p. 78.
69. 226 of 1903 ; EI. XI. p. 234 B.

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cōra was a son-in-law of Ganga Rācamalla I. The Vaidumbas who were also emerging into prominence then were a line of small chieftains whose inscriptions are found in considerable numbers in the Madanapalle taluq, Chittoor district. They captured a part of the Renāḍu country which belonged to the Telugu Cōḍas and ruled from their capital Vaidumbavrolu.[70] They are also credited with the capture of Cippili, an important place under the Telugu Cōḍas and the foundation of Vanavolu near Brodili.[71] Thus they were inimical to the Telugu Cōḍas.[72] In the alignment of the above powers in the conflict that took place in the days of Vijayāditya, the Ganga Pṛthvipati I and the Bāṇa and Vaidumba rulers were ranged on one side, and the Ganga Rācamalla I, the Noḷamba and Telugu Cōḍa rulers were ranged on the other. It is not quite clear if the dispute arose as a civil war between the two Ganga princes, each of whom was supported by a group of smaller powers, or whether the dispute arose between the two groups of minor powers each of whom was supported by a Ganga prince. But since there was rivalry between the two branches of the Ganga family from the accession of Rācamalla I, and since in the disposition of the powers in the disputes of the period there was on each side a Ganga prince, it is probable that the struggle arose as a civil war among the two rival branches of the Ganga family, each of which was supported by a group of rulers in southern Deccan. However one thing seems to be clear. So far as the Bāṇas and Vaidumbas are concerned they appear to have been the aggressors, and the Noḷambas had to defend themselves against their attacks.

It is difficult to trace the course of the conflict between the two groups. It seems it was begun by and on behalf of Prthvīpati I to secure the Ganga kingdom from Rācamalla I. Battles appear to have been fought at Māndāvu [72] Madumadugu,[73] Maṇṇe,[74] Mangal,[75] and finally at Soremaḍi.[76]. The last of them is identifiable with the

70. 346 of 1922.

71. 314 of 1912; 301 of 1908; SII. IX. i. No. i; 810 of 1917; EC. X. Bg. 62; MER. 1936-7, pt. ii para 70.

72. 102 of 1899; EI. VII. pp. 22-3; EC. X. Mb. 228. Mandatu may be identified with Mande eight miles east of Cholamari.

73. 314 of 1912; EI. XXIV, p. 192.

74. 2 of 1900, SII. VII. No. 2.

75. EI. XXIV, p. 188.

76. 543 of 1906; SII. IX, i. No. 11; 533 of 1906; EI. XXIV, p. 192; 295 of 1905; EI. XXIV, p. 191: SII. IX, i. No. 14. 296 of 1905. SII. IX, i. No. 13; 308 of 1922. M. Somasekhara Sarma thinks that the Mahābali Bāṇarasa who issued the Chadalla inscription (543 of 1906) was the same as Mahābali Bāṇa rasa Vikramāditya Kandarpa Jayameru (*G. V. Ramayya Pantulu Commemo-*

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modern Colamari in the Penukonda taluq in the Anantapur district. It lay just at the entrance into the Noḷamba kingdom which was under the control of the Ganga Rācamalla. Probably its capture was considered strategically important and hence Pṛthvīpati I and his allies concentrated on the capture of the place. The importance of the battle of Soremaḍi is well indicated by the large number of inscriptions that mention it. But none of the inscriptions that mention the various battles fought says anything about their final result. However one thing seems to be clear. Pṛthvīpati I and his allies appear to have been foiled in their attempt to get what they wanted namely the securing of the Ganga throne for Pṛthvīpati, for we know that Rācamalla and his successors continued to rule over the Ganga kingdom.

Though the battle of Soremaḍi was an important one in the political history of the kingdoms of southern Deccan in the first half of the ninth century, the inscriptions that refer to it are not helpful in fixing its date, and hence only an approximate date can be given to it, based largely on indirect and circumstantial evidence. The Maṇṇe plates of Rācamalla I dated Ś. 750 (A.D. 828) which was his twelfth year describes the king as protecting the Ganga kingdom after destroying his enemies.[77] The issue of the plates from Maṇṇe in that year appears to be of particular significance, for as we have seen above it was one of the places invested by Pṛthvīpati I and the Bāṇa and Vaidumba rulers.[78] Their issue from Maṇṇe and the mention in them of the destruction of his enemies by Rācamalla show that the area must have been relieved just then by the Ganga king. If that be so, it may be assumed that the battle of Soremaḍi and the other minor battles mentioned above must have been fought just before the date of the issue of the plates, say about A.D. 826-7.[79]

Malladeva (835-850)

On the death of Vijayāditya I about c.835 A.D. the Bāṇa throne passed on to his son Śrī Vadhūvallabha Malladeva Nandivarman mentioned in some inscriptions as Jagadekamalla. He

ration Volume, p. 144) but as seen from their titles, while the former may be identified with Vijayāditya I the latter was his grandson. Bāṇa Kandarpa Vikramāditya I.

77. MAR. 1910, para 56.

78. 2 of 1900; SII. VII. No. 2.

79. For a detailed account of the battle by M. Venkataramayya see *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XII, pp. 193-219.

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appears to have ruled for a period of about fifteen years, when the Gangas aided by the Noḷambas extended their territory right up into the heart of the Pallava kingdom, though they were resisted at every stage by the Bāṇas. Even during the closing years of the reign of the Bāṇa Vijayāditya, the Ganga Rācamalla I, emboldened by his success against Pṛthvīpati I and his allies, undertook the invasion of the Pallava kingdom quite across the Bāṇa country. According to an inscription at Budikote one Mahāvali Bāṇarasa, who was doubtless the same as Vijayāditya I and is described as ruling Ganga six thousand, despatched one Aggaḷarasa the ruler of Tēkalnāḍu to oppose the Ganga army that marched against Kāñcī under the orders of Rācamalla Permānaḍi.[80] Rācamalla's policy against the Bāṇa and the Pallavas was followed by his son Ereganga Nītimārga. An inscription in the Mulbagal taluq mentions an invasion of Bāṇavāḍi in the course of which Nītimārga captured Bāṇarasa's Mahārājanāḍ.[81] The Ganga king was helped in his invasions of the Bāṇa and Pallava kingdoms by his brother-in-law and feudatory, Noḷambhādhirāja Poḷalcōra (Vīra) who was governing the Ganga Six Thousand province. The Noḷamba ruler is said to have sent an army under one Pompalla to help the Ganga army but in the battle fought at Muruggapāḍi he fell. But the invasion was a success and it resulted in the loss of Gangānuśāsira by the Bāṇa ruler.[82] Consequently the Gangas marched into the Pallava territory and occupied a part of it as is borne out by the mention in an inscription of the excavation of a Jaina cave on the hill at Vaḷḷimalai near Tiruvaḷḷam under the orders of Ereganga Nītimārga.[83] The mention of a village called Rājamalla Caturvedimangalam in an inscription of Kampavikramavarman found at Brahmadeśam also points to the same possibility. If an inscription found at Hindupur in the Anantapur district may be believed, it seems that the successful expedition was carried out as far as Kāñcī itself.[84] These

80. EC. X. Bp. 86.

81. EC. X, Mb. 228.

82. EC. X. Kb. 79 ; 107 of 1899. On palaeographical grounds the inscription is assigned by Rice to A.D. 800. But since it was issued by Nītimārga it must be assigned to an earlier date. See also EI. IV. p. 141.

83. 91 of 1899, 6 of 1895. EI. IV. p. 140. The *Kongudeśarājākkaḷ* however ascribes the conquest of the Kāñcī country to Rācamalla (p. 8.).

84. 588 of 1912 and the existence of certain Noḷamba Pallava names such as Singapota Ponnēṛa (i.e., Cāṛuponnēṛa, etc., in an undated Noḷamba inscription at Kamdaduru confirms the surmise. (See *Rep.* 1913, para 13). Referring to the extension of the Noḷamba power in the east H. Krishna Sastri says : "To-day is seen the Mallikārjuna temple (at Dharmapuri) whose unique architecture is to be attributed to the Noḷambas of the ninth century

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events show however that during the reign of Śrī Vadhūvallabha Malladeva the Ganga Six Thousand was lost to him. But towards the closing years of his reign he appears to have compensated the loss of the Ganga country by the annexation of a part of the Telugu Cōḍa kingdom which was ruled by Adhirāja Śrīkaṇṭha. The inscriptions of Malladeva however give one the impression that quite like his father he was a strong and powerful ruler.[85] He is mentioned in the Guḍimallam plates as the *tilaka* of the Bāṇavamśa[86] and Jagadekamalla in the Udayendram plates of Vikramāditya II.[87]

Though the Bāṇas were on inimical terms with the main line of the Gangas during this period they continued to maintain friendly relations with their collateral branch. According to two inscriptions at Tiruvaḷḷam, which are however later copies of earlier ones, a certain Vāṇa Vidyādhara is mentioned as the son-in-law of Pṛthvīpati Aṟaiyar (Pṛthvīpati I) son of Śivamahārājā Śivamara II.[88] Vāṇa Vidyādhara was doubtless Vāṇa Vidyādhara Jayameṟu Vikramāditya I son of Malladeva Nandivarman and father of Vijayāditya II Prabhumeru.

Malledeva is described in the Mudiyanūr copper plates as resembling Bodhisattva in his concern for the welfare of the beings in all the three worlds[89] "a very uncommon and ancient looking allusion."

Vikramāditya Jayameru (850-95)

Vikramāditya Jayameru of the Gudimallam plates[90] who bore such titles as Bāṇa Vidyādhara[91] and Bāṇa Kandarpa Jayameru[92]

A.D. The temple of Bhoganandīśvara at Nandi in the Kolar district of the Mysore State also belonged to the same period. A comparison of the two structures with the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram will corroborate the possibility of my surmise". (*MER.*, 1911, pt. ii, para 15).

85. 301 of 1905; Mudyanūr plates of Malladeva Nandivarman. IA. XV, pp. 172-7; XVII, p. 239; XXIV, p. 10; XXXII, pp. 57-9; EI. III, p. 78. The Mudyanur plates are dated in Ś. 261 (A.D. 338) and therefore appear to be in part at least unreliable.

86. EI. XVII, p. 6.

87. *Ibid.*, III, p. 78.

88. 77 and 78 of 1889; SII. III, 47 and 48. It is unfortunate we have only copies of earlier inscriptions mentioning the matrimonial alliance between the collateral branch of the Gangas and the Bāṇas. But there is no valid ground to doubt the statement made in the two inscriptions, for the possibility of the matrimonial alliance is supported by the historical circumstances that existed during the period.

89. IA. XV, p. 177.

90. EI., VII, p. 3.

91. *Ibid.*, III, p. 78; 571 of 1906.

92. 569 of 1906.

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succeeded to the throne about A.D. 850 [92a] and ruled till about A.D. 895. Like his grandfather and father he continued to be feudatory successively of the two Pallava kings, Nandivarman III (844-66) son of Dantivarman and Nṛpatungavarman (866-885). This is borne out by three inscriptions of the Bāṇa king, two of which refer to Nandivarman and the third to Nṛpatungavarman. The first of them is dated in the seventeenth regnal year of Nandivikramavarman and refers to Vikramāditya Māvali Vāṇarāya as a feudatory of the Pallava king.[93] The second is dated in the 23rd year of Nandipōttaraiyar and speaks of the same Bāṇa chief Māvali Bāṇarāya.[94] Nandipōttaraiyar has been identified again with Nandivarman III. The third inscription which is dated in the 24th year of the Pallava Nṛpatungavarman, the son and successor of Nandivarman III mentions a Vāṇavidyādhara Mahābali Vāṇarāyar who was doubtless the same as Jayameru Vikramāditya I.[95]

Vikramāditya's acceptance of the overlordship of the Pallavas is confirmed by the anonymous *Nandikkalambakam* which describes king Nandi identified with Nandivarman III, as *Vaḍa Vēngaḍanāḍuḍai maṉṉar pirāṉ* (v. 55) (Lord over the kings of the northern Vēṅkaṭa hills).[96] His contemporaries on the Pāṇḍya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa thrones were respectively Varaguṇa II (c. 862-880) and Amoghavarṣa I (814-880).

As one belonging to a dynasty which was hereditarily on inimical terms with the main branch of the Gangas and as the son-in-law of Pṛthvīpati I of the collateral branch of the Ganga line Vikramāditya Jayameru pursued the policy of his predecessors and waged wars with the former obviously for the recovery of his independence and the reconquest of the Ganga Six Thousand country which had been lost to the Gangas during the days of his father. He seems to have first directed his attention to the task of getting rid of the Noḷambas from his own territory. An epigraph of the tenth year of Vijayakampavikramavarman records the death of a Bāṇa soldier called Akaḷankaṭṭuvarāyar while attacking the army of Pṛthvīgangaraiyar stationed at Kāvaṉṉūr in the Miyāṟunāḍu. The hero is referred to as one who took a place called Perunagar

92a. Sewell refers to an inscription according to which A.D. 873-4 was the second year of Vikramāditya's reign. But he does not give any reference to it. (See *Historical Ins. of S. India*, p. 328).

93. SII. III, p. 94.

94. 229 of 1903.

95. 228 of 1903.

96. IA. XXXVII, p. 171. See also vv. 33 and 67 of the work.

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(Perunagar koṇḍa kāvaḍi) identified with a village about 13 miles from Kāñcīpuram on the road of Wandiwash. As seen earlier, the Noḷambas had been in the occupation of the region as far as Kañcīpuram, and it is very likely that Perunagar was captured by the Bāṇa soldier from the Noḷambas. After having taken Perunagar he appears to have fought against the army of Pṛthvīgangaraiyar stationed at Kāvaṉṉūr and in the course of the fight died, though he was able to defeat the enemy.[97] Thus Vikramāditya Jayameru first re-established his authority in his own home country and then turned towards the west for the restoration of his authority in Gangaruśāsira. He is represented in a few inscriptions in the Chittoor district which seems to indicate that he recovered the lost territories and ruled over them for some years. A Mahābali Bāṇarasa ruling over the Vaḍugavali Twelve Thousand and Ganga Six Thousand provinces is said to have made the gift of a piece of land as *kalnāḍu* in memory of a man who died in a cattle raid led by hostile chiefs.[98] Obviously this Mahābali Bāṇarasa was the same as Bāṇa Vidyādhara and Jayameru bhūpa.[99] Again in an inscription of Vikramāditya Bāṇarasa which has the characters of the ninth century mention is made of the death of a Muḍuḍan who saved the cows of a Pudali Oḍeya at Palpaḍu (?) during the king's hostilities *(pagai)* against a certain Kaṉṉakkūri.[100] The Bāṇa reoccupation of Gangaruśāsira is confirmed by a number of inscriptions. An undated inscription of a Mahābali Bāṇarasa identifiable with Vijayāditya II or Vijayitta the son of Bāṇa Vidyādhara Vikramāditya I says that he had occupied Gangaruśāsira at a time when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III (794-814) mentioned in the inscription as Ballaha (Vallabha) led an expedition into the Ganga country to exact tribute from Kāḍuveṭṭi.[101] According to another, when Nītivākya Kongaṇi Varma dharmamahārājādhirājā was ruling over Nandagiri and Kuvalālapura and Noḷambādhirāja was ruling over the Ganga Six Thousand, one Pompallam Oḍeyār fought with Bāṇarasa at Murggepādi and died for which both Nītimārga and Noḷambādhirāja made the grant of a village called Surūr.[102]

97. EI. XXIII, pp. 143-7.
98. 196 of 1931-2.
99. 163, 164 of 1933-4.
100. 187 of 1931-2. The Chikkaballapūr plates of the Ganga ruler Jayateja (A.D. 810) mention a certain Kaṉṉakūri as an ancestor of Jayateja. (See *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1914, p. 36). But since he will be too early for the period of Bāṇa Vidyādhara, it may be taken as probable that the Kaṉṉakūri of the record under consideration was a later member of the family of Jayateja and thus was a Ganga by origin.
101. 327 of 1912; *Rep.* 1913, pt. ii para 15; SII. IX, pt. i. No. 6.
102. EC. X. Kl. 79.

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Further there are a few Bāṇa records in the Kolar district which mention gifts to soldiers who fell fighting against the Kāḍuveṭṭi forces at Marrindanūr at the command of Prabhumeru. One of them mentions Vikramāditya Jayameru alias Bāṇa Vijyādhara (Vidyādhara) and says that by order of Prabhumeru one Pokkiri Voradogarāja fought against the whole of Kāḍuveṭṭi's force at Māvinūru and died for which a grant was made. A second one, referring itself to the time of a Mahābali Bāṇa records a fight under the command of Prabhumeru against the Dāmarigas and mentions the grant of the village of Kulanallūr as a *balgalcu* for a warrior that died in the battle. Mahābali Bāṇarasa of the inscription was doubtless Vikramāditya Jayameru and Prabhumeru of the last two inscriptions was his son Vijayāditya II who was then probably the crown prince.

But Vikramāditya was not destined to rule over the reconquered Gangaruśāsira for a long time, for within a few years after that he appears to have been defeated by Mahendrādhirāja Noḷamba, the son and successor of Noḷamba Poḷal-Cōra, as a result of which the Ganga Six Thousand province passed once again into the Noḷamba hands. Mahendra Noḷamba, whose earliest inscription is dated Ś. 800 began his reign as a feudatory of the Ganga king. But within a few years after his accession he appears to have assumed independence by fighting against the Gangas on one side[103] and the Bāṇas on the other. His success against the Bāṇas is borne out by a few contemporary inscriptions. In a lithic record at Budidapalle in the Punganur zamindari, which on palæographical grounds has been assigned to the ninth century the Noḷamba king is said to have raided Pulināḍu in the Bāṇa country during the reign of Mahābali Bāṇarasa Bāṇavidyādhara.[104] A record at Kalakattur not far from Palamner in the Chittoor district mentions that under orders from Permānadi, Noḷambādhiyaraśa (Noḷambādhirāja) who was obviously the same as Mahendra started on the conquest of Talakāḍu which appears to have been in the hands of a rival Ganga prince and in the course of that campaign he asked his chiefs Kāḍuveṭṭi and Māduva to take Pulināḍu. Therefore they took the town of Permāvi and burnt it. Immediately after, Vijayāditya Vīra Cūḷāmaṇi Prabhumeru son of Bāṇa Vikramāditya I marched with his army against

103. EC. XII, Sr. 38; XI Db. 3; III Md. 13.

104. 571 of 1906.

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the invaders, stabbed many of their leaders and dispersed their forces.[105] The same incidents are also narrated in an inscription at Modugalapalle. According to it, Pulināḍu was raided by an unnamed Noḷamba king under the orders of Konguṇi Araśar, and Koyaṟṟūr identified with modern Laddigam in the Chittoor district was captured by him. It is also said that on that occasion one Gaṇṇaraśa, a brother of Dośai araśa the chief of the country fell and died.[106] It was obviously in the course of these skirmishes that a certain Nīlaganḍan, the son of Mandan of the community of *Mavilitaṭṭāras* (goldsmiths) and a servant of prince Vijayāditya having died after the capture of the fort of Āriyapalle a gift of land was made in his memory as *balgalcu* and as an *aḍuvu*.[107]

Again according to two undated inscriptions there was an attack on a place called Kuruñjila by one Mudhudāra Goṇameṇṭha of Minikki in which some persons are said to have fallen dead. One of the two records mentions the Bāṇa king as Māvali Vāṇarāyar while the other refers to him as Mahābali Bāṇarasa Vikramāditya Bāṇa Kandarpa Jayameru.[108] A third inscription which mentions Bāṇa Vidyādhara says that he ordered one Kandaliga Pērganga and his son Devaya to repel the attack on Pulināḍu by the Noḷamba army. In the battle of Minikki that took place Devaya is stated to have fought and died for which Bāṇa Vidyādhara granted the village to the hero's family.[109] Then again if an undated Noḷamba inscription at Dharmapuri which credits Mahendrādhirāja Noḷamba with the title of *Mahābalivamśavidhuvamśa* (destroyer of the Mahābali race) is understood in the light of the above events recorded in different inscriptions it may be taken that the fight between the Noḷambas and the Bāṇas for mastery over Pulināḍu continued for some years till ultimately the Bāṇas were completely defeated and their rulership over the region was finally put an end to.[110] It was very probably as a result of his success in the occupation of Pulināḍu that Mahendra Noḷamba when he camped at Kōlāla in the

105. 306 of 1912; *Rep.* 1913, pt. ii, para 13.

106. 318 of 1912; *Rep.* 1913, pt. ii, para 13. According to Krishna Sastri the Konguṇi Araśar mentioned in the inscription was Satyavākya Rācamalla. The Dośaiaraśa also mentioned in the record was different from Docayya whose servant opposed the Noḷamba at the battle of Soremaḍi according to 533 of 1906. See also EI. XXIV, p. 192.

107. 195 of 1931-2; *Rep.* pt. ii, para 5.

108. 569 of 1906; SII. IX, pt. i, No. 2; 570 of 1906.

109. 571 of 1906; SII. IX, pt. i, No. 4, MER., 1907, pt. ii, para 45.

110. EI. X, p. 65; 304 of 1911.

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Gangaru śāsira after his return from Cōḷanāḍu raised one Kīrtigāvuṇḍa to the position of Noḷamba Gāvuṇḍa of the newly conquered country and gave him a village in that district as a *kodage* grant.[111] It was again probably on account of his successes against the Bāṇas that in an inscription at Kambunāḍu dated Ś. 805 (A.D. 883) Mahendra is credited with the title of Tṛbhuvanadhīra (the hero of the three worlds).[112] Since both Vikramāditya and his son Vijayāditya II are said to have taken part in the dynastic war for Pulināḍu it may be taken that very probably the Noḷamba invasion of the area started somewhere in the middle of the reign of Vikramāditya and continued even in the early years of the reign of his son Vijayāditya II till it was completely conquered by Mahendra.[112a]

Almost at the same time when the Bāṇas were engaged in their fight for Pulināḍu they were attacked by the Rāṣṭrakūtas from the north. This is indicated by an inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III issued immediately after his accession to the throne in A.D. 915 wherein he takes credit for two distinct achievements, the first being a victory over Meru and the second

111. 325 of 1913; *Rep.* 1913, pt. ii, para 13.

112. 91 of 1913. *Rep., Ibid.*

112a. EC. X, Sp. 6 and 5. It has not been explained anywhere as to the circumstances under which the Gangaruśāsira which was a part of the Ganga country and governed by the Noḷambas was conquered by the Bāṇas. H. Krishna Sastri however makes the following suggestion: "Perhaps the temporary occupation of Gangaruśāsira by the Bāṇa kings Vidyādhara Vikramāditya I and his son Prabhumeru Vijayāditya II was in the form of a protest or a counter-invasion. The occasion for the conquest of Pulināḍu was already stated to be a campaign against Talakāḍu under the orders of the Ganga king. In the first place it appears as if Rājamalla who must have been the ruling Ganga sovereign at the time had been dispossessed of Talakāḍu by a collateral claimant to the Ganga throne and that in the second place the latter had a strong ally in the Bāṇa. This was evidently also the reason why in attacking Talakāḍu which was directly to the south of Kolar, the Ganga king ordered his Noḷamba feudatory to capture Pulināḍu which was south-east of Kolar in order perhaps to divert the ally from rendering any substantial aid to the enemy. In spite of this precaution, the result appears to have been quite the contrary of what was expected and Gangaruśāsira was occupied by the Bāṇas. At this time also Ballaha is said to have marched on the Ganga to collect tribute". (MER. 1913, pt. ii, para 15). Thus the Bāṇas appear to have been in temporary occupation of Gangaruśāsira which was purely a Ganga territory and governed by the Noḷambas. It is not improbable that the Bāṇa occupation was in retaliation of the Noḷamba occupation of Pulināḍu under orders of the Ganga king (See V. Rangacharya, *Ins. of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I. CT. 216).

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a success against Upendra who had captured Govardhana.[113] The passage in the inscription is couched in a double *entendre* and therefore has caused much difficulty with regard to its interpretation in the historical sense. Dr. Kielhorn suggested that Meru may stand for Kanauj.[114] Pandit Bhagavan Lal Indraji thought that the word Meru signified Mera or Mehra and the whole expression referred to the defeat of some contemporary Mehra king of north Kathiawad by Indra Rāja III.[115] According to Dr D. R. Bhandarkar Upendra might have been another name of the Gurjara Pratihāra emperor Mahīpāla.[115a] Dr A. S. Altekar thinks that Upendra was the Pāramāra chief Kṛṣṇarāja.[116] But it appears reasonable to identify Meru of the inscription with Vikramāditya I Jayameru of the Bāṇa dynasty. Such an identification is supported by a few inscriptions in the Chittoor district. Two undated records from Kappale in the district belonging to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kannaradeva or Kṛṣṇa II mention the attack of a place called Cemmaguru by a Mahārājā and the death of two warriors in the course of the fight.[117] Another inscription in the same place mentions Mahābali Bāṇa Vidyādhara Jayameru Bhūpa ruling over Vaḍugavaḷi Twelve Thousand and Ganga Six Thousand and records gift of land made in memory of a warrior who died while fighting in a cattle raid on Cemmaguru led by one Mahārājā.[118] Obviously the Mahārājā referred to in the above three inscriptions was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Indra, son of Kṛṣṇa II for the defeat of Meru according to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription mentioned above appears to have taken place even before his accession to the throne. Mahendrādhirājā Noḷamba who claims to have destroyed the race of Bali as mentioned earlier apparently did so not by himself but as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. To

113. EI. IX, Two grants of Indra rāja No. 2, v. 22, pp. 36 and 40. The text of the inscription reads :

kṛta govarddhanoddhāram helonmūlita merunā upendram Indrarājena jitvā yena na vismitam.

meaning "this Indrarāja (III) having uprooted Meru with ease was not puffed up with pride at (his) defeating (king) Upendra who had saved Govardhana just as the God Indra, who uprooted (mount) Meru with ease was not puffed up with pride at his vanquishing the (God) Upendra (Kṛṣṇa) who had uplifted the Govardhana mountain".

114. EI. VII, Appendix p. 16 n. 2.

115. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,* I, pt. i, p. 130, referred to in EI. IX, p. 28.

115a. EI. VII, p. 32.

116. *The Rastrakutas and their times,* p. 100.

117. 168 and 170 of 1933-4.

118. 164 of 1933-4.

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add to all of them a record of the Vaidumba ruler Pallo araśa, a son of Manuja Triṇetra, refers to some incidents connected with the same struggle in the course of which Kappalle itself was attacked.[119] The result of all these fights was the submission of the Bāṇas to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their acceptance of the overlordship of the northern invaders. An inscription in three parts incised over three recesses in the architrave of the *garbagraha* of the Śiva temple at Pāli, twelve miles north of Ratanpur in the modern Madhya Pradesh records the construction of the temple by Vikramāditya, the son of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Malladeva.[120] From this it may be surmised that Vikramāditya followed the Rāṣṭrakūta prince to his kingdom, and while there took occasion to construct a temple at Pali.[121]

Under ordinary circumstances the Bāṇas would have expected help from their overlords, the Pallavas during such a trying period in their history but for the fact that the latter were themselves in trouble at that time. The Pallava king during the period was Nṛpatungavarman with whom were associated in administration Aparājita and Kampavarman, the Pāṇḍyan king of the time was Varaguṇa II (862-880) who was trying to extend his power in the north at the expense of the Pallavas. A decisive battle was fought at Śrīpurambiyam near Kumbakonam between Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II and Aparājita Pallava in which the former was completely routed. The Pallava prince was helped in the battle by his two feudatories Āditya I, son of Vijayālaya of the rising Cōḻa line in Tañjāvūr and Ganga Pṛthvīpati I. The Ganga prince died in the course of the fight. Referring to this battle of Śrīpurambiyam, the Udayēndram plates of Pṛthvīpati II say, "at the head of the great battle of Śrīpurambiyam, the hero (Pṛthvīpati I) quickly defeated Varaguṇa the lord of the Pāṇḍyas; and having

119. 165 of 1933-4; 328 of 1922.

120. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Third Session, 1939, p. 323 and *fn.* Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar read the inscription as follows:—

Śrī mahānagara Vaṃāpuri vasā sā nagavālati (?) (*Mavada*?) *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Śrī Mala* (*lla*) *devastasya sutavikramāditya Prāsādalakṣitah Kīrti.*

121. Mirashi thinks that the Bāṇas penetrated to the north from the Telugu country and carved out a kingdom for themselves in the Bilaspur district of Chhattisgarh closely following the northern campaign of Udayacandra, a general of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla. (*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Third session, pp. 325-6). But it is difficult to believe that there could have been established a Bāṇa kingdom in such a distant region.

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(thus) made (his) title Aparājita ("the unconquered) significant, he ascended to heaven."[122]

Though the battle of Śrīpurambiyam resulted in the success of the Pallavas, they could not take advantage of it, since Āditya I, who was rewarded by the Pallava king with the grant of territory round Tañjāvūr in recognition of his help, finding that the Pallava power was not strong enough, took the earliest opportunity to overthrow Aparājita Pallava annexed the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to his own kingdom, and thereby put an end to the Pallava rule.[123] Under such trying circumstances it is no wonder that the Pallavas found themselves unable to go to the rescue of the Bāṇas. The Bāṇas also were shrewd enough to take advantage of the growing difficulty which the Pallavas experienced in maintaining themselves and declared their own independence. This is indirectly indicated by a record of a Bāṇarāja dated Ś. 810 (A.D. 888) which does not mention any overlord for the Bāṇa king.[124] Obviously the Bāṇa king at the time was Vikramāditya I.

122. SII. II, No. 76, v. 18; 337 of 1912. The last date known for Pṛthvīpati I is A.D. 879 (V. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I. NA. 536-7; EI. IV, pp. 180-3). Therefore it is possible that he could have died in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam. It is said that a temple of Ganga Pṛthvīpati I and a garden stained with blood are to be seen even to this day at Śrīpurambiyam. (See T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *Pāṇḍiyar Varalāṟu*, p. 34). Regarding the date of the battle see for another view M. Somasekhara Sarma's article, "The chronology of the later Pallavas" in the *G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Commemoration volume*, p. 142 as also his 'Note on Nṛpatunga in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, VIII, p. 165.

123. The Tiruvalangadu plates, v. 49; The Kanyakumari Ins. v. 55; 286 of 1911; SII. III, No. 142. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, I, pp. 135-7.

124. SII. III, No. 44.

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The Devātamaṇḍala in Bhāsa and Kālidāsa

BY

U. Venkatakrishna Rao, M.A.

Professor of Samskrit, Madras Christian College, Tambaram

The *devatās* or the gods in Bhāsa are certainly not as yet those worshipped in the Purāṇic period slightly later. In fact, some of the Purāṇic gods like Gaṇapati are not even born in his time. The *dikpālas* or the quarter-deities are only four, the deities presiding over the secondary quarters are not even referred to by name. Even the ordinary word *devālaya* which has come to mean a temple in later Purāṇic Samskrit has not as yet descended from its heavenly abode : in Bhāsa's Pancharātra I.4 the word refers to heaven only. Evidently after a long lapse of time, the word managed to descend to the earth and came to signify an abode of god on the earth or a temple as in all our Dravidian languages and also in the North Indian languages like Hindi and Marathi.

The third verse in the Abhiṣeka I referring to the way in which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa prepare themselves to instal Sugriva on the throne just as Hari and Hara bestir themselves with respect to Indra — *Indram hari harāviva* — seems to indicate that the Purāṇic tradition by which Hari and Hara became the chief 'Indra-makers' first and later the highest gods in the Hindu Pantheon was just then being set up. The end of this Purāṇic period witnessed the all-round importance of these two gods alone, even Brahma paling into insignificance before them. This is referred to allegorically by the various stories in many Purāṇas stating that Bhṛgu cursed Brahma not to receive any worship in the *Kali* age. The reason was obvious : Brahma was the god who granted boons in a most indiscreet manner to the Rākṣasas or the enemies of the gods, like Hiraṇyākṣa, Rāvaṇa, Tāraka and others. It was the ingenuity of Viṣṇu or Śiva alone that saved the gods from the depredations of these Rākṣasas who naturally always upset the moral order and discipline of the world. Śiva drank the poison in the *Kṣirasamudramathana* episode (referred to by Vāli who says he participated therein in Abhiṣeka I.11) and won the admiration of his devotees and his son Skanda saved the world from the miseries caused by the Tāraka. In many other Purāṇic stories, it was Viṣṇu that saved them on critical occasions ; naturally the devotees, out of gratitude, glorified his deeds in the

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many Vaiṣṇavite Purāṇas. Vāmana was thus first conceived as Upendra or Indra's younger brother, saved Indra's throne from Bali and became glorified as Viṣṇu's *avatāra* just in the same way in which a younger brother in a family might bring laurels thereto. The *Daśāvatāra* scheme was thus slowly perfected by these devotees in these Purāṇas, but in the thirteen dramas of Bhāsa, these ten *avatāras* are not crystallised at all. The *Matsya* and the Kūrma *avatāras* are not referred to by Bhāsa at all. The *Avimāraka* invocatory verse refers to the Varāha avatāra or the Boar which lifted the earth from the ocean by its *damṣṭrā* or jaw. The second line refers to the Boar kicking the earth after killing Hiraṇyākṣa and the third line refers to the same earth being regarded as Nrāyaṇa's wife. The Vāmana or the *Trivikrama* receives frequent homage from Bhāsa as in the invocatory verse of the *Dūta Vākya* wherein Namuci is mentioned as having been kicked by the leg of Upendra in the act of its being raised to heaven after measuring out the earth. Of course, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma are glorified as Viṣṇu's incarnations in the Bhārata and the Bhāgavata dramas. The phrase — rāmāya rāvaṇavirocanapātanāya used by Narada in *Bālacarita* I.8 seems to suggest that Rāma who killed Rāvaṇa, and Vāmana who kills Virocana Bali or Prahlada's son are the same as Nārāyaṇa. The first verse of the *Bālacarita* refers to the way in which Nārāyaṇa possessing a white body like *Śankha* and *kṣīra* is worshipped in the *Kṛta yuga ;* the same god of golden hue who measured the earth and the other two worlds in his three steps in the *Tretāyuga* is glorified next ; in the *Dvāpara yuga,* the same god, green like dūrvā grass, incarnates as Rāma to destroy Rāvaṇa ; in the *Kali yuga,* black like collyrium, the same is exalted as Dāmodara.

The usual wars between the gods and the *asuras* are referred to by Nārada in Bālacarita I.4 Duryodhana in the *Urubhanga* verse 35 refers to the way in which Sri Kṛṣṇa deprived Indra of his *Pārijāta* and sleeps in the Kṣīrasamudra for full celestial hundred years. He refers to him as the darling of the world, *jagataḥ priyaḥ.* The same God is referred to in verse 1 of the *Dūtaghaṭotkaca* as devoting Himself wholeheartedly to the protection of the world, as instituting a hundred plans for the welfare of the gods, in short as the *Sūtradhara* or the stage director witnessing to the finish the unceasing drama of the activities of the people of the three worlds. This Nārāyaṇa's man-lion incarnation which frightens all the men and women in the three worlds only to protect them all later, and whose thunderbolt-like nails tear up Hiraṇya-Kaśipu's body is exalted in the first verse of the *Karṇabhāra.* Kṛṣṇa possessing eight hands is referred to in Dūtaghaṭotkaca I.8 and his various āyudhas like Cakra, Śārṅga, Kaumodaki, Śaṅkha, and Nandaka

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and his vehicle Garuḍa are referred to in the I act of the Bālacarita (also in the spurious scene towards the end of the Dūta Vākya after verse 41 to verse 54). It is interesting to note in this connection that the scene in which Ravi Varma, the famous Malabar artist, has painted Sri Kṛṣṇa creating his *māyās* in Duryodhana's *durbar* is to be traced to this scene in *Dūtavākya* and cannot be traced back to the Mahābhārata where Kṛṣṇa exhibits his *Viśvarūpadarśana* only to frighten Duryodhana who was just hatching up plans with his brothers to chain up Sri Kṛṣṇa. Continuing our main argument, the three functions of creation, preservation, and destruction are, as usual, assigned to Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Brahma's work of creation is referred to in *Avimāraka* II.3. and Śiva's work is described in a simile when his hero Ghaṭotkaca is compared to Śiva engaged in '*Yuganidhana*' I.4. Viṣṇu's role as protector of the world is frequently eulogised. Coming back to Sri Kṛṣṇa and his *avatāras*, it looks as though Paraśurāma is not as yet glorified into Viṣṇu's *avatāra* in Karṇabhāra. The *paraśu* or the axe is not as yet referred to as his exclusive weapon as in the Purāṇic period. Śiva is also the wielder of the *paraśu* or the *paraśvadha* as in verse 10 of *Abhiṣeka* I. The story of the *Kṛṣṇāvatāra*, again, does not agree with the Viṣnupurāṇa, Harivamśa or the Bhāgavata versions. It looks as though the earlier Jaina records or the Buddhist Jātakas (which unfortunately have been lost) have been utilised by Bhāsa. A Kannada version of one of such Jaina records perhaps is preserved in the Neminātha Purāṇa of Karṇapārya circa 1100 A.D. (Madras University edition of 1940 — pp 166 to 169) refers to Kṛṣṇa as the 7th child (making him born after twins born on three occasions), to the river allowing Vasudeva with the baby a clear-cut passage across, and to Kamsa's Ṛṣiśāpa just as Bhāsa mentions in his *Bālacarita*. Kṛṣṇa herein is the *saptama dirghāyu* (not *aṣṭama* as in Vīṣṇu Purāṇa or Bhāgavata Puraṇa) ; a Ṛṣi Madhūka by name predicts or rather curses Kamsa that Devaki's *seventh* child would kill him (and not the *aśarīriṇī vāk* as in Bhāgavata. Similarly Nandagopa being chained and beaten by Vasudeva is referred to herein but the Bhāgavata does not seem to know this episode at all. The Rāma epic refers to the construction of a bridge across the sea by the monkeys, but the *Abhiṣeka* says that *Samudrarāja* allowed a passage across the sea and completely obviated the necessity for a new construction of a bridge.

Among the other gods mentioned, Īśvara's destruction of three cities is referred to in Abhiṣeka VI. 12. He is referred to as *Kapardī* here and his wife Umā is referred to in Pancharātra II. 44 and elsewhere. His assuming the form of a *Kirāta* on the occasion of

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fighting with Arjuna is also referred to as *Paśupati*. Passing on, Kṛṣṇa's elder brother Balarāma is invoked as the drinking god and his two arms are worshipped in the first verse of the Svapna drama. The row of the Śārasa birds is described as proceeding in a straight line like Baladeva's beautiful arm just before verse 2 IV act of the same Svapna. His ploughshare or *hala* figures as his powerful weapon, so his appellation *Halāyudha*. Balarāma is glorified as Viṣṇu's eighth avatāra by Jayadeva. This Balarāma and Bhima are glorified as using their hands as their natural weapons even while fighting big armies in *Pancharātra* III. 14. Siva's son Skanda is referred to often (in Abhiṣeka I. 24, in Bālacarita II. 23, III. 9 etc.); he is eulogised as Guha and his exploit of piercing the Kraunca mountain with his *Śakti* (referred to as Vel in Tamil Puraṇas) is mentioned. In Bālacarita II. 22, he is glorified as Kārttikeya, but the exploit of his dragging a tree from the ocean is not traceable in the modern Purāṇas. The voluminous Skānda Purāṇa printed in Grantha characters in Tiruvadi about 1891 and edited by one Anantha Vaidyanātha Siva, in its Śankara Samhitā, Śivarahasya Khaṇḍa 35th chapter (verses 52 to the end) narrates the story of a Śūrapadma Rākṣasa who hid himself in the ocean, but was pursued by Subrahmanya. Subsequently the Rākṣasa turned into a *mango* tree and was killed. Thereupon he was changed into a *mayūra* or a peacock and a *kukkuṭa* and requested Subrahmanya to bless him. The peacock was accepted as his vehicle and the *kukkuṭa* was placed on his dhvaja. The story as narrated here does not emphasise the *dragging* of the tree from the ocean which Bhāsa refers to pointedly in the verse quoted. Bhāsa refers to a tree in general and not to a cūtavṛkṣa. Such discrepancies make it difficult for us to believe that Bhāsa's source might have been this story. Indra is referred to *Pāka-Śāsana* in *Karṇabhāra* and his tearing the mountains with his thunderbolt is referred to by Muṣṭika in Bālacarita V. 5, where he says he will tear up Balarāma likewise (also in Ūrubhanga I. 20).

In the 23rd verse of the Karṇabhāra there is a curious verse in which Karṇa is rightly exultant since he has passed Pākaśāsana by his act. In the context, he refers to Indra as one whom the Brahmins propitiate in sacrifices, who owns a *kirīṭi*, who destroys the group of dānavas and who rides the elephant *Airāvata* (Bhāsa used the curious form *Airāvaṇa* in the Pratijñā). The second epithet, owner of *Kirīṭi* (kirīṭimān) is rather intriguing and the late Dr. Ganapati Sastriar explains the word as one possessing Arjuna and offers a very farfetched explanation saying that Arjuna is powerless if Indra does not come to his rescue: I am tempted to believe that the correct word in the context is *kirīṭavān* (not kirīṭimān):

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this latter form offends against grammar and even ordinary decorum. The particular kirīṭa-possessor is only Indra and not Arjuna at all in the context, I should like to emphasise. In Bhāsa's time, the story of Indra's presenting the kirīṭa or the crown to Arjuna had not as yet been incorporated into the Bhārata epic in the interpolated (as I am tempted to believe) chapter 168, verse 74 of the Vanaparva. His other names Dhananjaya, Pārtha, Phalguna are referred to by Bhāsa, but not Savyasācī and Bībhatsu and not even this Kirīṭī. Returning to Indra, Śakra's *utsava* or festivity is often referred to as for example in *Madhyama vyāyoga* I. 47. This *Śakrotsava* is referred to only by the early writers Śūdraka and Kālidāsa. Indra's tears fall like ferocious flames on the earth, causing earthquakes, volcanoes and similar catastrophes (Dūtaghaṭotkaca I. 26). *Pulomajit* and *Pulomāri*, late names of Indra (vide Hopkins' Epic of India p. 123) are not known to Bhāsa and his horse *Uccaiśravas* (known to Kālidāsa in Kumāra II. 47) is not referred to by Bhāsa. In an interesting verse in the *Madhyama Vyāyoga*, 43, the various mighty gods are listed together as *viśvakartā* (= Brahma), Śiva, Śakra, Kṛṣṇa, Śaktidhara (= Skanda) and Yama, when Bhima asks his son Ghaṭotkaca (who does not as yet know whom he is talking to) if Bhima is equal to any of these in strength. It might be remarked that Bhāsa considers these as the important or great gods. In the Dūtaghatotkaca verse 35, the gods are spoken of as being very eager to create somebody capable of protecting all the three worlds while the *asuras* are equally interested in frustrating their efforts. Śukra, their preceptor, employs even foul means and throws añjana or some magic powder into the eyes of the gods and lo ! Dhṛtarāṣṭra is born blind. What an exquisite fancy ! Misplaced mighty strength could not be better described. Of course, this is a poetic fancy,but it clearly indicates the peculiar mental workings of the gods, and their rivals. In the context, the word *tridivarakṣaṇa* may perhaps be better interpreted not as *svargarakṣana*, but as *triloka rakṣaṇa*, since Dhṛtarāṣṭra is a king of the earth, not of Svarga at all.

As regards Gaṇapati, he is not referred to by Bhāsa or for the matter of that, even by Kālidāsa or even by Bhāravi. Negative evidence may not be of much use, but the use of the words *gaṇeśvara* (referring to Vāli in Abhiṣeka VI. 4) or *bhagaṇeśa* (= candra in Abhiṣeka VI. 6) in their derivative senses can easily tell whether the words had come to signify the Gaṇapati of the *Pañcāyatanapūjā* for example as referred to by Sri Samkara. Kālidāsa, uses the word *Ekadanta* in Sākuntala I. 29 (N.S. Edition) and here again the word is used in its derivative sense and not in

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its *rūḍha* sense as anybody can see for himself. Even for Bhāravi, the *gaṇapati* or the Commander of Isvara's hosts is as yet Skanda alone and he it is who tries to infuse hope into the discomfited gaṇas or hosts after they have been defeated by Arjuna. Even Yājnavalkya's reference (I. 27) to *Mahāgaṇapati Śānti* must be definitely to Skanda. Perhaps the earliest literary reference to Gaṇapati as a God is Bāṇa's whose Bhairavācārya worships this obstacle-removing god. Māgha refers to him in I. 60 but strangely refers to an otherwise unheard story of Rāvaṇa's depriving him of his tusk which he used in fashioning ivory ornaments for his ladylove. After him, poets refer to him constantly in the beginning of their compositions, as for example in Bhavabhūti's Mālatimādhava and elsewhere.

In the 17th verse of the Pratimā V act, there is yet another intriguing idea. The important gods whom Rāvaṇa has devastated are listed as follows: Śakra whom Rāvaṇa has routed, Vittanātha or Kubera who has been violently shaken, Soma who is dragged, and Sūryaputra or Yama who is pounded. Evidently these four gods must be the quarter deities. Indra is the lord of the east, Kubera of the north, Yama of the south, and Soma or the Moon is to be regarded as the lord of the west. Dr. Ganapati Sastriar took this last word to refer to Brahma wrongly. The lord of the west is Varuṇa, but he seems to have been exalted to that position later than Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. This Varuṇa is rather tamely introduced in Abhiṣeka IV where he meekly consents to allow a passage for Rama's army to cross the sea. Perhaps the Aryans saw the sea towards the west in the country near the mouth of the Indus and the ocean's overlord after a long time was promoted to be the lord of the western quarter. Kālidāsa in Raghu VI. 33 equates Soma with the Moon. In the time of Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, evidently the moon as causing the high and low tides of the ocean, might have been its overlord. The wheel of fortune which favoured Varuṇa in the Ṛgveda turned down for some time, to raise him up again, though not to the same old level and push Soma to a secondary position. Other gods like Vāyu or *Satatagati* (referred to as Bhima's father) and Agni (Avi-māraka's father) are memtioned but only in passing and do not play an important role.

As regards the female deities, Srī or Lakṣmī is referred to as Viṣṇu's wife and Umā as Śiva's wife. Brahma's wife or Indra's wife is not referred to as also Skanda's wife or wives. Kālidāsa does not at all refer to the South Indian tradition of Skanda's marriage with two wives, rather he makes him a *naiṣthika brahmacāriṇ* or life-long bachelor who would not tolerate the presence

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of a woman in his *tapovana* (vide Vikramorvaśīya IV act.) The *Apsarastris* are referred to, but in an interesting way both by Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. Bhāsa says they choose warriors who fall in the battle-field, unflinching, as their husbands. The dying Vāli and Duryodhana are greeted by them and Kālidāsa also in Raghu VII. 53. refers to this tradition when he says two warriors dying at the same time were claimed as their lovers by the same Apsaras —ekāpsaraḥ prārthitayorvivādah. These again, escort dying heroes in their *Vimānas* or aerial chariots piloted by a thousand swans to their celestial abodes. The presiding deities over some rivers like Gangā and Yamunā also function similarly. In the Ūrubhanga, the oceans in their corporal forms are also seen accompanying these *apsarastris* or rivers. As regads the wives of these gods, reference has already been made to Viṣṇu's wife and Siva's wife. The Bālacarita II act makes an interesting reference to some Cāṇḍāla women who disturb the sleep of Kamsa and later under the direction of the śāpa, alakṣmī, khalati, kālarātri, mahānidrā, pingalākṣī enter into his body just then being deserted by Srī (who does so because Viṣnu's order is untransgressable). The child dashed on the stone by Kamsa in this act later flies into the sky as Kārtyāyanī with her wonderful retinue of Kuṇḍodara, Śūla, Nīla, and Manojava who later transform themselves into cowherds and help Sri Kṛṣṇa. The word used in this connection is Kārtyāyanī and not the usual Kātyāyani.

Among the vehicles of the various gods, Kṛṣṇa's garuḍa and Indra's Airāvata (sometimes spelt as Airāvaṇa) seem to be the only ones mentioned, other vehicles like Brahma's swan or Yama's buffalo have not as yet figured into the imaginative brain of the Purāṇic poet. Even in the later Purāṇas, it is interesting to note that the *male* gods alone have their special vehicles, and their wives perhaps might share them with their husbands. The Vidyādhara couple move in their vimānas as referred to in the Avimāraka or in the Abhiṣeka where Rāmarāvaṇa Yuddha is described by three Vidyādharas. There is one interesting celestial sage Nārada to whose pricking the bubbles of tension between gods and the *asuras*, a slight reference has been made already. He is a mere roving minstrel who pleases *Pitāmaha* or Brahma by his Vedic recitations today, makes Viṣṇu exhilrated by his melodious songs the next day, and who institutes various plans to start dissensions with a view to make them agree later just as he does with his *vīṇā* strings (verses 11 and 16 of Avimāraka VI). This idea is also repeated in the opening verses of the Bālacarita where he gives the additional idea : in between his vedic recitations and song hits, he hits up *devāsura* quarrels as he can

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have no peace of mind if the atmosphere is calm (I. 4). This is almost similar to the Mahābhārata conception in IX. 54.19 (as Hopkins remarks), where Nārada is referred to as the maker of quarrels as he always likes them. His *Viṇā* producing *sukha śabdas* or agreeable sounds is only *Kacchapī* in the context and has not as yet been dignified into the highsounding *mahatī* as for example in the opening scene in Māgha I. 10. In the verses of Nārada as referred to by Bhāsa, it is interesting to note that he refers to Brahma as *Pitāmaha* in general; in the Purāṇas he is the son of Brahma.

Particular holy days on which special pūjās were offered and fasts observed, both by men and women, are referred to in the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* and Cārudatta. Cārudatta's Brahmaṇī observed a fast on the *ṣaṣṭhī* or sixth day (bright or dark ?) and broke the fast the next day after making suitable *dakṣiṇā* presents to Brahmins. Every king had to set apart a special room as Śānti *gṛha* or an *upasthānagṛha* where he had to offer special prayers. The *Pratijñā* refers to a special *Yakṣiṇī's* temple in front of Udayana's prison palace where Vāsavadattā performed her '*devakārya*'. The wives of Duryodhana refer to themselves as 'Sahadharmacāriṇīs' in Ūrubhaṅga. Only Śūdras had to refrain from reciting *mantras* while worshipping gods (vide Pratimā III. 5), but women could do so.

Viewing the dramas as a whole, an orthodox religious atmosphere pervades them throughout. The *Madhyama Vyāyoga* states that a *Śatakumbhayajna* was being performed in Maharṣi Dhaumya's āśrama and later we learn that the Brahmin family was proceeding to the next village for an *upanayana* ceremony. The Pancarātra refers to a sacrifice performed by Duryodhana (not referred to in the epic at all) in which he offers Droṇa anything the latter demands as *dakṣiṇā*. Karna's generosity has become proverbial and Duryodhana in the Ūrubhaṅga prides himself on the sacrifices he has performed in the company of his wives. Youngsters paying respectful homage to elders and Brahmins is a very common sight and the elder, on every such occasion, is blessing the youngster invariably. If Dhṛtarāṣṭra fails to do so, it is at once respectfully criticised in Dūtaghaṭotkaca. Indra's laboured blessing to Karṇa is specially noteworthy. Religion and morality were highly honoured. The sixth verse of the Ūrubhaṅga is a remarkable verse comparing the battle to a sacrifice in which the elephants are the *yūpas* or the posts to which the animal to be sacrificed is tied, *darbha* grass is the arrow, the accumulated numbers of the elephants form the elevated *vedi* or the sacrificial altar, the cloth canopy above being provided by the variety of the flags of the fighting armies, the leonine roars of the warriors are

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the *mantras*, and where himself is the paśu or the sacrificed animal. The Udyogaparva 141st. adhyāya verse 29 refers to a Śastrayajña in a sustained metaphor comparing Kṛṣṇa to the netā or the leader and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa imitates the same in Veṇīsamhāra I. 25. Such allegorical representations remind one about the various kinds of *Yajñas* like *dravyayajña, dānayajña,* tapoyajña in the Bhagavad Gitā IV. 28. As a result of such interpretations, *yajñas* and *Śrāddhas* with human and animal flesh came to be slowly discouraged and even prohibited. Vegetable and other substitutes were sought and prescribed and the people slowly became vegeterian, eschewing flesh entirely from their dietary. The mechanical *yajña* gave way to a new conception of *yajña,* which became more and more imaginative and even literary, philosophical discussions being also dignified into *yajñas.* Perhaps the obvious and sole credit for this social revolution in Bhāsa's.

The Mṛcchakaṭika prastāvanā verse starting with ṛgvedam sāmavedam gaṇitam etc., has been so far a puzzle to students of history. I cannot say that I can fully explain the puzzle, but I believe I may help in this direction at least partially. It states that Śūdraka mastered the various sciences and arts then known ; thereafter he crowned his son king, performed an aśvamedha, finally entering into fire, though he was blessed with a life of hundred years and ten days. If in this verse, we understand that Śūdraka is identical with Puṣyamitra and explain that the son so anointed was Agnimitra, the mystery becomes a bit cleared up since Puṣyamitra's sacrifice is a historical fact.[1] Śūdraka or Puṣyamitra must have patronised Bhāsa and Cārudatta versus Mṛcchakaṭika problem becomes easily resolved on such a hypothesis. Perhaps the poet Laureate Bhāsa allowed his best drama the Mṛcchakaṭika to pass off as his patron's ; Bhāsa might be deemed to have lived under the reign of Puṣyamitra who took his cue for murdering his master after witnessing his protegee's Bālacarita wherein Kamsa was murdered by Sri Kṛṣṇa on the occasion of a *dhanurmaha* or bow festivity (which was exactly similar to the army melee). The rough copy seems to have been purposely suppressed for obvious reasons and along with it, the other dramas of Bhāsa were also drawn out of circulation ; for some time, they were staged as they had been popular and successful on the stage, but Kālidāsa's domineering personality eclipsed him. Kālidāsa's

1. 'rājānam *vīkṣya*' in this sloka, I believe, makes the point definite. History tells us that Puṣyamitra *saw* his son king and Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra Act V also supports this.

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initial jealousy towards this southerner becoming big in his patron's father's court also contributed its quota towards the later neglect of a once popular writer. Bhāsa's carelessness in allowing them to pass off anonymously made the people forget his dramas in course of time. The accidental discovery of these dramas has brought to light this interesting fact that both the Cārudatta and the Mṛcchakaṭika have been touched up by the same hand of Bhāsa and the Rājasimha of these dramas is therefore Puṣyamitra Śunga.

One word more about the interesting word *devālaya* to which I referred in the opening para. Sri Samkara in the Vāṇi Vilāsa Press Edition Vol XVI—p 108, *Sadācārānusandhāna* verse 13 uses the word in the sense of a temple saying 'deho devālayah' proktaḥ dehī devo nirañjanaḥ | arcitah sarvabhāvena svānubhūtyā virājate | | Even here, orthodox pandits comment on the word as referring to svarga or heaven only (which I stated might have been the earlier significance of the word). The 38th chapter of the Agni Purāṇa is entitled *devālayanirmāṇamāhātmya* or the efficacy of temple construction, using this word itself (vide p. 48 *et seq*, Ānandāśrama edition). The dates of these two are not definite; Samkara's date is advanced a hundred years by the late Lokamanya Tilak and other authorities believe he might have been far earlier. Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatjātaka* (58th chapter) uses another interesting word *pratimā* definitely in the sense of a temple image as he refers to the images of various gods in temples just as Agni Purāṇa refers to them. Here also I would urge that the earlier sense of statue in general has been utilised by Bhāsa when he used it as the title of his drama. Coming back to the word '*devālaya*', the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and similar authorities seem to avoid this word, but use other synonyms: Bhāgavata refers to *Ambikāgṛha* or *Paulominiketana*, referring to the kuladevatās Indra and his wife installed therein, where Rukmiṇi, just before her being kidnapped, makes a '*Kuladeviyātrā*' to these and also Girijā's temples (vide X skandha Uttarārdha, 52nd adhyāya verse 42, and 53rd adhyāya).

Kālidāsa's devatāmaṇḍala

Kālidāsa's divine pantheon is not practically different from Bhāsa's, as he must have been his younger contemporary. (For my reasons, I would request a perusal of my article on 'Are the Trivandnum Bhāsa's dramas genuine'? in the Tirupati Journal '51, Vol XI —No. 1). Both Bhāsa and Kālidāsa lived in the formative period of our philosophical darśanas, definitely long before they were codified. Prof. Garbe assigns, the Nyāya, the earliest to be codified

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into Sūtras among these *darśanas,* to about 150 B.C. and it may safely be assumed that both Bhāsa and Kālidāsa should have lived prior to this period. That these were considerably prior to the codification of the Vedānta, Mīmāmsā and Vaiśeṣikasūtras — which Jacobi assigns to about 200 A.D. — goes almost without saying. It looks as though both of them were almost contemporaneous with the Dharmasāstra writers, Bodhāyana and Āpastamba and also Kauṭilya.

Iśvara's *aṣṭamūrti* seems to receive Kālidāsa's special worship (cp nāndi in Sāk and elsewhere in Kumār. I 57, VI 26 etc.) ; his *ardhanāriśvara* form is worshipped both by Bhāsa in Avimāraka II. 12 and Kālidāsa. The latter clubs *aṣṭamūrti* with the *ardhanariśvara* in his *nāndi* in Mālavikāgnimitra. With reference to Viṣṇu and the incarnations, the ten *avatāras* do not seem to have been perfected just as in Bhāsa, though Raghu XIII. 5. seems to refer to them : it refers only to the growing popularity of Viṣṇu by which his fame is made to spread in the *ten directions* and clearly not to the ten avatāras. Vāmana and Rāma are referred to in Raghu XIII 1 and elsewhere ; Kṛṣṇa's *gopa* disguise rendered all the more beautiful with peacock feathers in glorified in Megha I. 15 and Varāha receives his worship in Raghu VII, 56 and XIII. 8. Kṛṣṇa's subjection of the Kāliya serpent and possession of the Kaustubha gem are briefly referred to in Raghu VI. 49 and the forcible abduction of Rukmiṇi is mentioned in Mālav V. 2. Rādhā is definitely not referred to. Nara and Nārāyaṇa are identified with Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa or Vāsudeva and Urvaśi's birth from the latter's thigh is referred to in the Vikram I. 3. Balarāma is referred to as Lāngali in Megha I. 49. and the sphuratprabhāmaṇḍala or the halo round the heads of the gods is referred to frequently in Kumāra VI. 4, 7, 38, I. 24 etc.

The Śārṅga, has by the time of Amarakośa, definitely become Sri Kṛṣṇa's special bow-cāpaḥ Śārṅgam murāreḥ, but in Kālidāsa's Raghu V. 50. Jaghāna nātyāyatakṛṣṭaśārṅgaḥ, it refers to Aja's bow, not being evidently restricted to Sri Kṛṣṇa's bow at the time. Bhāsa does not refer to Śaci, but Kālidāsa refers to both in Raghu III. 23 and elsewhere. The vehicle of Skanda, the peacock is not referred to by Bhāsa, but Kālidāsa refers, in Raghu VI. 4 — mayūrapṛṣṭhāśrayiṇā guhena, to Guha riding a peacock. His other exploits of piercing the Kraunca mountain and killing Tāraka are referred to by both. His dragging the tree from the ocean (Bālacarita II. 22) is not referred to by Kālidāsa or the well-known Purāṇas. The *dikpālas* are only *four* both in Bhāsa and Kālidāsa and not eight as in Manu—*aṣṭabhirlokapālānām* mātrābhirnirmito nṛpaḥ and Soma, one of the lokapālas is candra both according to Bhāsa Pra-

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timā V. 17 and Kālidāsa Raghu VI. 33. Raghu XVIII 81 refers to Indra, Varuṇa, Yama and Kubera; similarly in Raghu XIX. 15 — caturdigisáḥ caturo babhūva and in Kumāra. V. 53 caturdigīśa-navamatya māninī. We might also incidentally note that if Mallinātha refers to *eight* lokapālas in the last verse in Canto III of Raghuvaṃśa, he must be regarded as being inaccurate from Kālidāsa's standpoint since Kālidāsa refers to *four* and not to eight dikpālas or lokapālas. In XVII. 78 also Kālidāsa describes Atithi, a descendant of Rāma as pancamaḥ lokapālānām, implying only four lokapālas and not eight. Similarly in II canto of the Kumāra, when the gods wait in deputation on Brahma, the important gods referred to are *Vṛtrasya hantā* or Indra (verse 20), Pracetas or Varuṇa (21), Kubera (22), Yama (23), Ādityas (24), Maruts (25), and Rudras (26) Indra is referred to in verse 29 as Vāsavaḥ, but the Vasus significantly referred to even in the Bhagavad Gītā—rudrādityā Vasavo ye ca sādhyāḥ XI. 22 seem to be absent in the context. From the context, again, one is in a position to guess that Brahma's position in the divine pantheon has not at all degenerated, he is worshipped by Dilipa in Raghu I. 35 before starting to the āśrama— athābhyarcya vidhātāram prayatau putrakāmyayā. This indicates that Brahma was worshipped by devotees desirous of getting sons. It was only later that Brahma was cursed into not receiving any worship at all since he, as described in Kumāra II grants boons to Tāraka (and other Rākṣasas) by whom the gods are defeated. This is indirectly saying that the Purāṇic devotees were let down by Brahma. But in Kālidāsa Brahma is revered and the priest, the most important man in the sacrifices was compared to him as vidhātṛpratimaḥ and slowly the Purāṇic Vasiṣtha, the ideal priest, was dignified into Brahma's son. Brahma leads the bridegroom's party in the marriage procession; Īsvara greets the gods yathārhapūrvam or in the order of their merit in Kumāra VII 46—Kampena mūrdhnaḥ sátapatrayoniṃ vācā harim vṛtrahaṇam smitena, ālokamātreṇa surānaśeṣān sambhāvayāmāsa yathārhapūrvam. Thus Brahma, Hari, Indra was the order of importance. After the marriage, Siva and Pārvati prostrate before Brahmapraṇematustau pitarau prajānām padmāsanasthāya pitāmahāya. Ku VII. 86. Nārada is introduced in Raghu VII 33 and in the Vikramorvasīya V towards the end, but he does not seem to be as yet dignified into Brahma's son and his *vinā* has not as yet been honoured with the title *Mahati* as for example in Māgha I. 10. He is only a Kāmacaraḥ or wanderer at will in Kumāra I. 50. The Saptarṣis are very highly revered in Kumāra I. 16 and in the VI canto they are chosen by Śiva to intercede on his behalf with Himālaya.

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As regards the literature presupposed by Kālidāsa, he does not seem to know the Āraṇyakas or the last sections of the Upaniṣads taught in the forest. The word is used by him twice (Raghu V. 15—āraṇyakopāttaphalaprasūtiḥ stambena nīvāra ivāmburāśiḥ and also in Śākun I after verse 29—anenāraṇyaka vṛttāntena paryākulāḥsmaḥ, refers only to a forester as taught by Pāṇini in araṇyānmanuṣye. The word *prasthāna* is used by him but it is not to be understood as referring to the famous *prasthānatraya* the Gītā, Brahmasūtras and the Upaniṣads of our philosophy. He uses it only in the derivative sense of walking in Sākun V. 3 and Raghu IV. 88. or coming to as in Kumār VII. 60. The word *darśanam,* again, is used by him in 3 places exactly in the sense in which Kauṭilya uses it sometimes saying iti kauṭilya darśanam or this is Kauṭilya's opinion. In contemporary Buddhist literature prior to the Christian era e.g. in Pretavastu, we also read viramitvā pāpadarśanam in this very sense. Kālidāsā also means view point in Śākun III—anasūyāmapyanugato madīyastarkaḥ, na hi svābhiprāyeṇa me darśanam; in Mālavikā V in the beginning of the act, the exactly similar 'viewpoint' of the cabinet of ministers is announced—mantriparisadopyevameva darśanam, and yet again in Raghu VIII. 24. where Aja somehow, maintaining *equanimity of temparament* (after his wife's death) spent some years, gamayitvā *samadarśanaḥ* samāḥ, obviously the word has not as yet come to acquire the sense of philosophical system by which one is able to see the Lord as for example in the famous *Sarvadarśana sangraha.* Similarly the word *arhat* is used by Kālidāsa in the derivative sense of the deserving and not at all in the sense of a Jaina or a Bauddha ascetic, in which Aśvaghoṣa for example uses it, qualifying the exalted Buddha thereby, referring to him as the only '*Arhat*'—ityarhataḥ paramakaruṇikasya śāstuḥ XVIII 61. Saundarananda. Kālidāsā's uses of the word are the following—(1) arhaṇāmarhate cakrurmunayo nayacakṣuṣe (Raghu I. 55), (2) dvitrāṇyahānyarhasi sodhumarhan yāvadyate (Raghu V. 25), (3) tavārhato nābhigamena tṛptam (Raghu V. II), (4) yadadhyāsitamarhadbhiḥ taddhi tīrtham pracakṣate, Kumāra VI (5) tvamarhatām prāgrāsaraḥ smṛtosi naḥ, Sāk V. Long after, Hemacandra, the famous Jaina polymath, wrote a book on arhannīti. The four chapters of Bādarāyaṇa's Brahmasūtra seem to be summed up in the four pādas of the mangalasloka of the Vikramorvaśīya. Kālidāsa's Raghu IV. 16—cakṣuṣmattā tu śāstreṇa sūkṣma kāryārtha darśinā seems to have been utilised by Śabarasvāmin soon after. His philosophical ideas based on the Bhagavad Gīta are found in Raghu X, Kumāra II and more particularly in Raghu VIII 16 to 23. The word prasankhyāna

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in haraḥ prasamkhyānaparo babhūva (Kumāra III 40) is to be understood in the sense of meditation and has as yet nothing to do with counting in Arithmetic. The late Lokamānya Tilak explains in his Gītā Rahasya that the word Sānkhya has two senses of enumeration and *later* of tattvajnāna in general. But as he himself admits in the context, this sense of an enumeration came into vogue only after the twenty-five *mūla tattvas* were postulated, perhaps by Isvara Krishna about 240 A.D. as Vincent Smith's Early History of India p. 328 records; therefore it is more reasonable to assume that the general sense of jñāna was the earlier one as attested by Kālidāsa, meditation and jñāna being easily interchangeable or deducible one from the other; as a matter of fact, one might even suggest that the sense of 'enumeration' was the connecting link between the two significations. 'The ultimate origin of the Sāṅkhya idea is traced beyond the Upaniṣads to the Ṛg Veda X. 121 says Keith, (page 8 Sānkhya).

The next important word is *devālaya*. Bhāsa's use of it in the sense of *svarga* has already been referred to. Unfortunately Kālidāsa does not seem to use the word nor do Bhāravi or Māgha inspite of the oftquoted saying : navasargagate māghe nava śabdo na vidyate. Kālidāsa uses the word niketana for temple in Raghu VI. 34 where he refers to Mahākāla's niketana and in the previous verse to Isvara's niketa in Gokarṇa. In the Meghadūta he also refers to Mahākāla in verse I. 37 and a little later in verse 46, he refers to Skanda's temple on Devagiri where the god has taken up a permanent abode. The *mahākāla jyotir linga* is famous in Puranic literature and Kālidāsa, Daṇḍin and Bāṇa refer to the existence of this temple. Bāṇa also avoids the word devālaya, but refers to devakula as Bhāsa does in his Pratimā. (Valmiki Ayodhyā Kanda IV. 30), also avoided the word using the word devatāgāra wherein Kausalyā prays for Rāma's welfare. Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta I verse 58 refers to deification of footprints as those of Śiva-tatra vyaktam dṛṣadi caraṇanyāsamardhendu-mauleḥ; he refers to the stones marked with Padmanābha's footsteps in the Kumāra VIII. 23. Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra II adhikaraṇa Chapter 5 refers to the installation of Vāstudevatāḥ or house protecting deities in the next adhyāya refers to a devatādhyakṣa or temple superintendent. Yājnavalkya prescribes a fine for a person who cuts a tree in temple precincts. He has the word *surālaya* for a temple thus : caityasmaśānasīmāsu puṇyasthāne *surālaye*, jātadrumāṇam dviguṇo damo vṛkṣe ca viśrute. (p. 235. N. S. Edn' 26 vyavahāra, sāhasa, verse 288. In another context in the vyavahāra svāmipāla

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section verse 154, he calls the temple an āyatana while referring to disputes regarding boundaries in temples and pleasure parks etc., saying :

ārāmāyatanagrāma nipānodyānaveśmasu

In the same context, the commentator mentions that Kātyāyana, another Smṛtikāra calls the same devagṛha. All these have somehow (perhaps for metrical purposes) avoided the direct use of the word devālaya. Evidently the word must have come into vogue in the sense of a temple rather very late and the earlier sense of the same must have been 'svarga' only.

Gaṇapati or Ekadanta has not as yet been deified as is obvious from the latter word referring to the one tusk of an elephant in Śākun I. 29. As already remarked, even for Bhāravi, the gaṇapati is only Subrahmanya or Skanda, who alone is Isvara's only son so far. This Skanda is referred to as *naiṣṭhika brahmacārin* who does not want any interference by women in his *tapovana*. Lakṣmi is referred to as Viṇṣu's wife, but as śrī or vasumatī, she courts the victorious on the battlefield and she is referred to as the wife of kings-vasumatyā hi nṛpāh Ḳalatriṇah,—Raghu VIII 83. Sarasvati has already become the goddess of learning, honoured even by the Vedas—śrutimahati (bharata vākya of Ṣākuntala) ; she knows both Prākṛt and Samskṛt ; when Siva and Pārvati prostrate before her, she blesses the former in Samskṛt and the later in Prākrit. Her proverbial animosity with Lakṣmi is referred to twice, in Raghu VI. 29 and also in the last verse of the Vikramorvaśīya. Among the wives of the gods, Svāhā is referred to as Agni's wife—svāhayeva havirbhujam—Raghu I. 5. The Vanadevatās are mentioned twice, once in Śākuntala IV as presenting Sakuntalā with her ornaments and later as permitting her departure, and once again in Megha II. 46 as sthalīdevatās who shed tears on seeing Yakṣa's misery. Perhaps the deification of some trees started soon after ; Sitā worships such a vaṭa in Raghu XIII. 53. The Gitā might have led the way when the Lord identified Himself with the Asvatha (X 26). The Apsarastris are mentioned as Indra's delicate weapons in the Vikramorvasiya and these entice sages like Viśvāmitra from their penance. These also act as scouts when devout sages bathe in holy lakes as for example in Sākun VI where Sānumati keeps a vigilant eye over the bathers in the Apsarastirtha. Kāma and Rati are mentioned in Kumāra III and Vasanta is also referred to in the same context as their most intimate family friend. Family deities are installed in houses as in Kumāra VII. 27. Parvati worships them before her

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marriage. If the Trivandrum edition reading of Kumāra V. 4 maniṣitāya arca gṛhesu devatāḥ be accepted, the mother of Pārvatī asks her to worship the family deities installed in the house; she actually does so on the eve of her marriage as the verse tāmarcitābhyaḥ kuladevatābhyaḥ testifies to.

To conclude, the devatāmaṇḍala in Bhāsa and Kālidāsa is similar and is shown side by side for purposes of mutual comparison. Only a very slight advance may be seen in the latter and they treat the gods alike, more particularly the important gods as explained just now. Since Bhāsa exhibited a predilection for the Jaina version of Sri Kṛṣṇa's stories (as my esteemed friend Sri T. K. Joseph, Associate Editor has suggested in a personal letter to me) and since also he was eclipsed by the stalwart Kālidāsa (like Shakespeare coming into prominence soon after Marlowe only to completely outshine him), he might have been slowly allowed to be forgotten in course of time.

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A Copper Plate of the Kāmakōṭi Pīṭha

BY

K. R. Venkata Raman

The late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao's notes on No. VII of the "Copper-Plate Inscriptions belonging to the Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya of the Kāmakōṭi-Pīṭha"[1] call for thorough revision in the light of records and facts of which Mr. Rao apparently was not aware.

The figures of the *Liṅga* and the *Dēvī* engraved in the plate represent Śrī Gōkarṇēśvara and Śrī Brahadambā, the principal deities of the temple at Tirugōkarnam, a suburb of Pudukkōṭṭai, and not Jambunātha and Akhilāṇḍēśvarī of Jambukēśvaram as Mr. Rao has surmised. The last line of the inscription which reads பெரியநயகி அம்மன் தூணை *(Periyanāyaki Amman tuṇai)* leaves no doubt as to the identity of the figures. *Periyanāyaki* is the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit name *Brahadambā,* the tutelary goddess of the Rulers of Pudukkōṭṭai.

The grant, which was made in the reign of Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Toṇḍaimān, begins with a panegyric of the Vijayanagar emperors[2] usually found in the grants of the early Toṇḍaimāns of Pudukkōṭṭai and of other South Indian Chiefs such as the Rājas of Ramnad. The Śaka year 1663[3] given in the grant is an 'expired year', and the actual date was Śaka 1664 corresponding to the Tamil year *Dundubhi* — A.D. 1742.[4]

The identity of Anbil Terkaḷūr has baffled Mr. Rao. He says that "the village of Anbil is said to have been situated in the

1. Printed at the 'Law Publishing House' Madras, 1916.
2. The Vijayanagar Ruling House had become extinct at least fifty years before the time of this Toṇḍaimān Ruler, and Mr. Rao is palpably wrong in saying that "the Vijayanagara (or rather the Chandragiri) prince who might be taken to be the contemporary of the Puḍukkōṭṭai Chieftain Vijaya Raghunātha Toṇḍaimān is either Ranga VI or his successor".
3. The date is not Śaka 1613 as wrongly read by Mr. Gopinatha Rao. The impression on line 24 of the facsimile published in the book unmistakably reads 1663.
4. The text reads சாலிவாகன சகாப்தம் 1663, இதன்மேல் செல்லா நின்ற துந்துபிவரு

(Sālivāhana śakābdam 1663, idanmēl śellāniṇṛa Dundubhi).

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Panṛi-śuḻ-nāḍū, of the Rājēndra Śōḻa nāḍu, a subdivision of Rājarāja Vaḻa Nāḍu. This village is situated on the north bank of the river Koleroon." In another paragraph, he says, "Anbil, Tiruvāśi and the adjacent places (in the Trichinopoly District) have even now respectable families of Kaḷḷars who bear the title *Nāḍāvān* (a corrupt form of Nāḍāḻvān) ; perhaps the ancestors of these were holding *jāghirs* under the Pudukkōṭṭai chieftain and rendered military service to him". We may at the outset say that at no period in South Indian History had any Toṇḍaimān chieftain of Pudukkōṭṭai political control over any part of modern Tiruchirāpaḷḷi District to enable him to assign *jāghirs* at Anbil and Tiruvāśi to his military retainers.

The words of the grant in lines 26 to 33 deserve closer examination. They read :—

Line 26 : ராச ராச வள நாடு ரா-
(Rājarāja Vaḻanāḍu Rā-)
Line 27 : சேந்திர சோழ வள நாடு பன்றி சூழ்
(jēndra Chōḻavaḻanāḍu Panṛiśūḻ)
Line 28 : நாடு அம்பில் தெற்குலூரிலிருக்
(nāḍu Anbil terkulūriliruk)
Line 29 : குங்காணியுடைய அரையமக்க
(kuṅkāṇiyuḍaiya araiya makka-)
Line 30 : ளில் ஸ்ரீமது திருமலையப்பத்தொண்
(ḷil Śrīmadu Tirumalaiyappattoṇ-)
Line 31 : டைமானாரவர்கள் குமாரன் ஸ்ரீமதுவி
(ḍaimānār avargal kumāran Śrīmadu Vi-)
Line 32 : ஜைய ரெகுனாதாய தொண்டைமா-
(jaya Raghunātha rāya Toṇḍaimā-)
Line 33 : னாரவர்கள் வகை ஊழியக்காரர்
(nāravargal vahai ūḻiyakkārar-)

Rājēndra Chōḻavaḻanāḍu was not a 'subdivision' of Rājarāja Vaḻanāḍu. Rājarāja Vaḻanāḍu, to the south of the Kāvērī, was renamed Rājēndra Choḻa Vaḻanāḍu in the reign of one of the successors of Rājarāja the Great. Panṛiśūḻ or Panṛiyūr nāḍu was a subdivision of Rājarāja Vaḻanāḍu situated to the south of the Kāvērī, and comprising the southern part of the modern Tanjore district and the eastern part of Pudukkōṭṭai territory.

Anbil of the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi district was in a different nāḍu or kuṛṛam. Contemporary inscriptions[5] refer to it as a *Brahmadēyam*

5. C.f. A.R.E. 589, and 594 to 598 of 1902.

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situated in the Kiḻār or Kaḷār kūṟṟam of Vaḍagarai Rājarāja Vaḷanāḍu (the part of the nāḍu to the north of the Kāvērī). It is obvious that the Anbil of the grant, which is said to belong to Paṉṟiśūḻ nāḍu, a tract to the south of the Kāvērī, cannot be Anbil of the Trichirāpaḷḷi District. Paṉṟiśūḻ or Paṉṟiyūr nāḍu included Ambukkōvil and the villages round it, situated in the Ālaṅguḍi Tāluk of the former Pudukkōṭṭai State. The original name of Ambukkōvil was Aḻumbil[6] which means, according to a copper-plate grant in the Pudukkōṭṭai State Museum, 'the land where no evil deeds prevailed'. The village is as old as the 'Sangam' age.[7] In the Toṇḍaimān grants, which are preserved in the State Museum, *Aḻumbil has been corrupted into Anbil.* The endogamous clan of Kaḷḷars, who established their homes at Ambukkōvil, are still known as *Anbil (or Anbu) nāṭṭu Kaḷḷars,* to one of the exogamous septs of which, namely the Toṇḍaimān, His Highness the Rāja Bahadūr of Pudukkōṭṭai belongs.

Vaḍakkalūr[8] and Terukulūr were the northern and southern divisions respectively of Anbil. Toṇḍaimān and four other septs, namely Pallavarāyan, Rāṅgiyan, Kaliyirān and Poṟpaṉṟikoṇḍrān were spoken of as "men of Terkuḷur".[9]

The grant under reference, in common with the other Toṇḍaimān grants in the State Museum, speaks of the Toṇḍaimān as belonging to *Kāṇiyuḍaiya Araiyamakkaḷ,* (or Araiyars who were in enjoyment of lands or fiefs). Toṇḍaimān settlers at Anbil were at first living as agriculturists, and their chiefs were Araiyars, on whom the men of the nāḍu and the village assemblies had bestowed *pāḍikkāval* rights, which assigned to them *araśusvatantram* or royal functions, and duties investing them with powers of taxation and imposing the obligation to protect the people, their life, property and crops. One such Araiyar or Araśu shrewdly took advantage of the political turmoil that plunged the Nāyak rulers of Madurai, and Tanjore in internecine wars, and carved out the principality known as Pudukkōṭṭai State.

6. Pudukkōṭṭai State Inscriptions Nos. 369, 458, 522, and 580, all in the Śiva temple at Ambukkōvil, unequivocally refer to the place as *Aḻumbil of Paṉṟiyūr nāḍu,* and No. 942, as also the Copper-plate inscriptions in the Pudukkōṭṭai Museum, as *Aḻumbil of Paṉṟiśūḻ nāḍu.*

7. See *Ahanānūṟū* (44) which mentions Aḻumbil as a town in *Pāṇḍināḍ.*

8. The term *Vaḍakkaḷūr* still persists in the name of a *Vaṭṭam* — Vaḍakkalūr Vaṭṭam in the Karambakkuḍi firka.

9. Line 28 of the grant reproduced above.

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Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Toṇḍaimān (1730-1769) was also called Śivañānapuram Dorai. He was next in succession to his grandfather Raghunātha Rāya Toṇḍaimān (1686-1730), the founder of the State. Vijaya Raghunātha's father, Tirumalaiyappa Toṇḍaimān[10] had died in the life time of his father Raghunātha Rāya.

The donors were the *ūḻiyakkārar* or personal servants of the Toṇḍaimān. There were among them those who received fixed remuneration, and those who were in receipt of *jīvitam* or *umbaḷam*.[11]

As Mr. Rao says, the donee Vēṅkaṭakriṣṇaiya of Kāñchīpuram seems to be an agent of the maṭha, but there is nothing in the text to warrant the conclusion that he was "sent to be in charge of the landed estates belonging to the maṭha, which were situated in the Trichinopoly District and adjoining Jambukēśvaram".

The record is important as showing the very close connection that existed between the *gurus* of the Kāmakōṭi-Pīṭham and the Pudukkōṭṭai Ruling House in the 18th Century. About 1738, Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya had received spiritual instruction from Śrī Sadāśiva, the most illustrious of the disciples of the maṭha, and this had brought him into the direct line of disciples of the Śaṅkarāchāryas of this maṭha. The devotion that the Ruler had for the venerable Svāmi of the maṭha was emulated by his followers and retainers who made this grant in 1742 to an agent of the maṭha.

10. Also called Tirumalai Rāya. *Rāya* is a title which the early Toṇḍaimāns assumed. He died in 1729.

11. Lines 42-43.
Jīvitam is land given to an *amanakār* or military retainer; *Umbalam* is *inām* granted as a reward for, or in consideration of public services.

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Reviews

THE MAKING OF GREATER INDIA—A STUDY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIAN CULTURE by H. G. Quaritch-Wales, Ph.D., Litt., (London) Bernard Quaritch Limited, 1951-pp 200.

Dr Quaritch-Wales here takes stock of the tremendous advance made in archæology and exploration in South-East Asia, particularly in the decade before the outbreak of war in 1939 and studies the culture-changes that marked the evolution of civilisation in this region. Outside influences, producing mere imitations of themselves, do not in his opinion, constitute an evolution which can result only when they effectively enrich the art and civilisation on which they are brought to bear. And for the evaluation of such evolution data, of proto-history and of certain aspects of psychology should be utilised. Further, acculturation on assimilation cannot be complete, and when it was on a mutual basis, — as in the case of Dravidian and Aryan in South India — the result was fusion, synthesis or hybridisation.

The conditions under which Indian influences were brought to bear on the Mon-Khmer and the Malayo-Polynesian speaking peoples of South-East Asia included the impressions gained by native visitors from these lands to the sacred places of India, the influence of the Hindu, *sastras* and of the Indian trading posts and 'self-governing' coastal communities of Indians (corresponding to the kampongkling, such as exist at ports like Medan. The Indian grip on the Western zone of South-East Asia was purely cultural and not marked by military conquest or annexation, except perhaps in very rare cases.

The southern half of Greater India, (Sumatra, Malaya, Java, Borneo and Bali) was most directly exposed to South Indian influences coming largely by sea. The earlier remains of Siam and Burma and those of early Cham and Khmer sculpture and architecture show Gupta influences; while Indo-Javanese influence had been strong in Champa and Cambodia. Indianisation, though a continuing process, proceeded in a number of successive waves, chronologically continuous and overlapping, — the four main ones being (1) The Amaravati (2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.); (2) The Gupta (4th, 5th and 6th centuries); (3) the Pallava (350-750 A.D. *Circa*), and (4) the Pala (750-900 A.D. *Circa*), the

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last of which had a recrudescent wave in the 12th and 13th centuries. Except in Ceylon the first wave left only a few epigraphs and a number of widely scattered Buddhist figures. The impact of each wave was felt throughout the zone, though the Pallava one was felt less in Burma and Central Siam than in Ceylon, Malaya and Sumatra. But there was no evolution of Indian influence in the real sense; and as Indian control ebbed, there began a process of decadence. Freedom and naturalism marked the non-religious sculpture of the western zone, while conservatism dominated deity-sculpture on the whole.

In the eastern zone, pre-Indian civilisation had been operative through local genius and tended to resurge as Indian influences slackened. The older Megalithic civilisation of Assam, Burma and other regions flourished over 2,000 years ago; and it possibly advanced overland and down the great river-valleys from the north Babylonian, Sumerian and Egyptian influences have been attempted to be traced in South-east Asia. The younger Megalithic wave or series of waves, accompanied by the Dong-So'n Bronze Age culture, entered South-east Asia about the 4th or 3rd century B.C.; while Chinese influences permeated in the Han period. Thus our another postulates:—("Indian and secondary) influences moulded by a local genius in which the constant features are Older Megalithic, Egyptian (?), Younger Megalithic/Dongsonian, and Han, produce the Indo-Javanese cultural evolution. Indian (and secondary) influences moulded by a local genius in which the constant features are Younger Megalithic/Dongsonian and Han, produce the Cham cultural evolution. Indian (and secondary) influences moulded by a local genius in which the constant features are Older Megalithic, produce the Khmer cultural evolution.")

In Sunda (West Java), West Borneo and Bali, the Indian stimulus did not produce a notable response and was overwhelmed by a resurgence of pre-Indian cultures. In pre-Majapahit Bali the resurgent pre-Hindu culture developed its own way and borrowed only to a limited extent from the Indian. Dr. Wales discovers several foreign influences in Javan culture of the Majapahit period. Local genius directed Cham evolution; and foreign influence stopped short of extreme acculturation. It is difficult to know if Indo-Javanese influences came to Champa direct, or through Cambodia as it may have done in part. The care of the Fu-nan empire comprising the present day Cambodia and Cochin-china, was effectively Indianised in the 4th century A.D., but Indian

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acculturation was not complete therein. An elaborate examination of the Devaraja culture and pyramid shrine prevalent here, makes Dr. Wales infer that these symbolised the restoration of Cambodia's independence from Java following the Sailendra pretensiors over it. Their basis was local and associated with the megalithic culture on to which Indian concepts were grafted. A detailed study is given of Khmer sculptures and art styles which are attributed fundamentally to native genius.

The general conclusion, cautiously put by our author, is that the Indian share was more active in terms of stimulus, and the local contribution showed equal activity in terms of response. In Java there was a resurgence of local culture after the period of Indianisation; and everywhere the recrudescence of the pre-Indian cultures is due to their effective operation through local genius; and foreign influences soon become adapted to local patterns. The investigation of local genius through protohistory and culture changes is thus held to be the great need of future research in South-east Asia.

C. S. S.

THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF LORD MACARTNEY Governor of Madras (1781-85), Edited for the Royal Historical Society by C. Collin Davis, Reader in Indian History in the University of Oxford. Camden Third Series, Vol. LXXVII, London-Royal Historical Society, 1950, pp. XXIV and 236.

Lord Macartney had a fairly extensive European experience and was Governor of Greneda and Tobago in the West Indies before he secured the Governorship of Madras. His diplomatic career later took him to China and he also served for a short time as Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. The decade of Warren Hastings's Governor-Generalship was marked throughout by bickerings between Bengal and Madras, caused partly by the unworkable nature of the constitutional relations between the two governments and partly by personal factors and political situations that aose in the epoch necessitating a certain amount of friction. Macartney inherited the political and military incompetency of the authorities of Madras in the face of Haidar Ali's ravages, from which relief was partially obtained by the vigour displayed by Coote. But in spite of Macartney's efforts to help Coote with his limited financial and material resources, there arose a bitter misunderstanding between the two, Macartney displaying a bitter re-

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sentment of Coote's censures on the Madras Council for alleged defects which really were beyond their control. Macartney's subsequent quarrels with General Stuart and with Admiral Edward Hughes whose dignity was offended by the Governor's tractless suggestions as to his plans, added to the complications of the situation.

With regard to the country powers, Macartney strove to assert the Company's right to Guntur Sarkar after the demise of Basalat Jang. Warren Hastings forbade him to do so, as he was desirous of conciliating the Nizam. The Governor-General even proposed the cession of the Northern Sarkars to the Nizam ; but Macartney opposed this. While the aims of both sides could be justified, as Dr. Davies remarks, Hastings showed a lack of sufficient foresight and his recommendation would have dismembered the Madras Presidency and weakened the English naval hold of the east coast.

Further estrangement ensued between Bengal and Madras over the question of the assignment of the Carnatic revenues to the Company on account of the war and over the Nawab's calculated attempt to deal with Bengal directly over the head of Madras. The bitterness was intensified by the Directors' orders cancelling Hastings's agreement, of April 1781, with the Nawab and approving Macartney's treaty of December 1781 with him and by the Board of Control subsequently ordering the restoration of the assignment to the Nawab ; and this last measure led to Macartney's resignation in 1785.

Hastings likewise did not and could not approve of Macartney's attempt, in conjunction with Coote, Hughes and John Macpherson, in the early months of his Governorship, to reach an understanding with the Marathas. His similar overtures to Haidar Ali and later to Tipu Sultan when the latter's military position had deteriorated, and his negotiating the terms of the Treaty of Mangalore, ignoring those of the Treaty of Salbai, were equally, if not more grievously, annoying than his earlier actions. Macartney's despatch of extracts from Hastings's letter on Tanjore, to the Directors, in order to strengthen his own stand towards that kingdom, was deemed by the Governor-General to be the prime cause of his own censure by the Court for his Tanjore proposals. We see in the letters edited here, that Macartney was innocent of any design on Hastings ; and the 'Villain of the piece' was really John Macpherson. It is justifiable, as has been well pointed out, to infer that Macartney, like Philip Francis, went to India with the intention of becoming Governor-General. Macartney, like

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Cornwallis in Bengal, was the first Madras Governor chosen from outside the ranks of the Company's servants; and he had consequently to face opposition from vested interests of corruption, from which he was entirely free.

The extracts of Macartney's private correspondence given in the volume throw fresh light on the acrimonious disputes between the Madras and Bengal Governments and on the characters of Macartney, Hastings, Coote, Macpherson, Benfield, Staunton, R. Sulivan and others. Macartney resigned his post on first hearing of the annulment of the Carnatic assignment and of the appointment of John Holland as his provisional successor; and he sailed for England in July 1785 though he had received news before he left, of his appointment as Governor-General, because he wanted a clear definition of the Ministry's attitude towards him. The Board of Control's preference for Macartney as Governor-General emphasised the fact that Pitt and Dundas had by that time emancipated themselves from the claims on them of the various East India interests in Parliament, with which they had close previous associations.

Excerpts from Macartney's correspondence are given to illustrate a few of the features indicated above. On Benfield — (Letter to Macpherson of 24th November. 1781) — he thus remarked: — "but I am really diverted with wood-cocks who thrust their Bills in the Ground, shut their Eyes, and then think nobody sees them." In his letter to the same, of 3rd February, 1782, he thus remarked on Coote: — "The notion of King's Commander-in-Chief has operated so strongly on his Pericranium that I can't help thinking it was a powerful ingredient in the late Apoplexies". In his further letter to the same, of 13th July 1782 he wrote: — "The Bengal treaty can give the Nabob no right to the country at the peace because the (his own) agreement of the 2nd December, accepted and approved by the Governor-General and Council, superseded that treaty so far as regarded the Assignment of the revenues, and being more favourable for the Company ought surely on that account to preferred".

Macpherson cautioned Macartney to a milder course with these words — "Could not Lord Macartney effect the same purpose with more addresses and less injury to former Alliances and Friendships" (letter from Calcutta, 31st August 1782).

To Warren Hastings, Macartney wrote on 11th May, 1782; — "As a Private Individual nobody is less interested in the concerns of India than I am; as a public Man, No body more so". Hastings

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had informed Macartney, even as early as 23rd July 1781, that his views on Tanjore and the necessity of appropriating all its resources for the war were fixed and public and would not allow of serious argument.

In his compliance to Laurence Sulivan, Macartney assured him, thus in his letter of 29th January, 1782 :—"I approve much of the Idea of giving all power to the Governor-General and Council of Bengal. The making the Governors of Bombay and Madras members of it will be necessary ; otherwise they will have no authority in their own presidencies. And such is the Jealousy of this place at least, that it will require great Address and Steadiness to engage the people here to relish the alteration." This is indicative of a very plan to unify the three Presidencies !

The note of the editor on the Macartney Correspondence in pp. XVI-XVIII, is very useful to the student.

C. S. S.

A SURVEY OF THE RISE OF THE DUTCH POWER IN MALABAR (1603-78) by T. I. Poonen — with a foreword by K. Zachariah, M.A., C.I.E. Published by the University of Travancore — 1948 — pp. XXIV and 303.

The author who was recently awarded the Ph. D. Degree of the Madras University for research work in the Dutch in India, has here traced the advent and foundation of the Dutch power in Malabar, with the aid of material called from the various record collections in India and of a few manuscripts borrowed from the India Office, London and of published Dutch material. Dutch enterprise in India and the Eastern Seas has been chronicled in its several phases ; and the Indian phase of it has been revealed in parts by writers like A. Galletti, W. Moreland, P. Geyl, Sardar Panikkar and others. Though no epoch of Indian or South Indian History can be specifically styled the Dutch period, Dutch relations with the Indian princes and other European powers in the land had important political and economic repercussions both externally and internally.

The period of Dutch enterprise comprehended in this book marks only the foundation of the Dutch power in Malabar, prior to their attempt to establish their hegemony therein. Dr. Terpstra's works on the beginnings of Dutch enterprise in the Coromandel Coast, and in Gujarat ; Dr. Alabers' work on Rijcklof Van

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Goems, and Galletti's Introduction to the translation of the *Memoirs* of Gollenesse and Moens, and Sardar Panikkar's *Malabar and the Dutch* have been critically noticed by the author in his useful survey of sources; and he points out, among other features how the translation of Dutch *Memoirs* by Galletti and his collaborators is defective in places, particularly "where matters of ecclesiastical controversy are concerned." The survey of Malabar polity, on the eve of Dutch advent and the political effect of Dutch impact on the land have been outlined on a detailed scale, though, perhaps, with reference to the latter the conclusion put forward as to the emergence of an entirely new order, may not be due wholly to the operation of Dutch activity.

The Dutch contact with Calicut began in 1604; and among the Hollanders associated with that port was Van Speult of "the Amboyna incident" fame. The Dutch desire to achieve a monopoly of the pepper trade was the chief motive which prompted them to strengthen their position in Malabar, in preference to other parts of India. The capture of Quilon by Van Goens in 1658, and the securing of Pallipuram and of Cranganore, were naturally followed by the attack on Cochin and its capture, which marked the end of the long Portuguese domination and the restoration of the Moottatavazhi branch to the Cochin throne. The contributory factors of Dutch success have been well indicated and the significance of Van Goens' achievement well brought out, as converting the earlier precarious hold of a few commercial residencies into a dominion centring round the strong town of Cochin with territory won from the Portuguese as well as Indian princes and including the fortresses of Cannanore, Chetway, Cranganore and Quilon.

The resultant total subordination of the Cochin ruler to the Dutch Commandeur and the latter's voice in the regulation of the royal succession have been clearly brought out; and Dutch relations with Travancore and the chiefships subordinate to it have also come in for notice, as well as the progress of Dutch hold over the States of North Kerala. The Dutch administrative arrangements have been briefly indicated; while their attempts at monopolising the pepper trade which proved both ruinous and difficult in implementation and the rates at which tolls were levied at Cochin on the different communities, have come in for notice.

The information embodied in the *Memoirs* of the Dutch Commandeurs, on the character and features of the indigenous polity

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has been well analysed by the author; and a particularly interesting feature noticed by him is the working of the popular assembly which is revealed to have been able to assert itself even against powerful land lords and the chiefs themselves. We learn that there was no taxation on house, land, head or animal (p. 245), while there were *cootes* or free towns which were well protected and served as sanctuaries and places of refuge for all, whatever their crimes might have been. Likewise the author has given analysed and condensed information about the different classes and communities, their characteristic features, usages and history. Thus the Jews have been sketched, on the basis of Moens' *memoir;* the *Canarins* and their probable origin have been noted; and the several indigenous communities of Christians, their vicissitudes under the Portuguese, the condition in which the Dutch found them, the 'inland' Christians of Van Rheede, the 'new' Christians of Moens, and the 'Topass' Christians have all been noticed in a separate chapter. The efforts of the Dutch to introduce their Reformed Religion, their strict surveillance of all foreign priests and their keeping away of the Jesuits — all these are deemed to have been motivated by their fear of the political influence of the Catholic priests.

The documentation has been adequate in most places; and the conclusions arrived at have been moderate and sober. The author has pointed out, naturally enough, that the Syrian Christians enjoyed a military importance at least equal to that of the Nayars and they lived in 1,400 villages and had 150 churches at the time. This and other views put forth by the author on the community are interesting; and among them is the view of Van Rheede and Moens that "the Malabar Christians are the descendants of refugees from the Coromandel Coast."

The author's exposition of the Dutch commercial policy is particularly to be valued.

It is pleasing to note that Prof. Aabbers has commended this work of Dr. Poonen as "a continuation and completion of his work on Van Goens, though on a different scale. . . and a proper foundation for the study of the subsequent history of Malabar."

The book has been carefully prepared, and though drifting into plenteous detail in places, displays a proper balance between statement of data and the drawing of inferences.

C. S. S.

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1. CULT OF BRAHMA IN GUJARAT, 2. NEW DYNASTIES OF GUJARAT HISTORY, by Amrit Pandya, (Charutar Vidya Mandal, Vallabh Vidyanagar, *via.* Anand, Bombay)—1950.

The first of these two pamphlets is a study with reference to an old image of Brahma from the remains of older Cambay at Nagara, or more fully Nagarak Mahasthan or Trambavati. The Brahma image discovered at this place is deemed by the writer to surpass in grace even the Leyden image from Java; and it is of the earlier type of images and well satisfies the iconometric postulates of the *Manasara.* The fertile find-spots of old Brahma images are Gujarat and Cambodia in Viet Nam. More than one shrine in Gujarat conduct Brahma worship at the present day.

The second pamphlet describes the new historical facts brought to light by the new inscriptions studied by the Institute of Archæology, Vallabh Vidyanagar. Thus a stone record of the 13th century at Karavan, the birth-place of Lakulisha Pashupat shows this ancient cult still continued to flourish at that place. A history of the Chalukyas of Lata from c. 973 to 1,100, has been constructed. The principality of Dumkhol in the Gujarat Satpuras and that of Nandipur, and the line of Udayasimha of Nandipadra and the Bhil Vasavas of the Satpuras are also noticed among others. The texts of the inscriptions studied and notes thereon are also given.

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1. *Education in Ancient India* (contd.), by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

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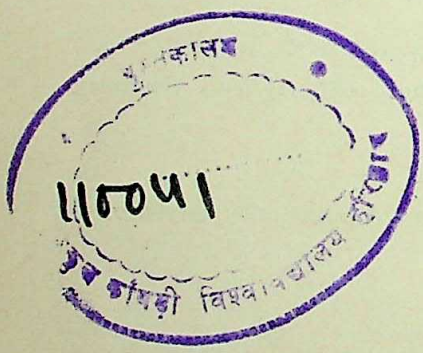

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